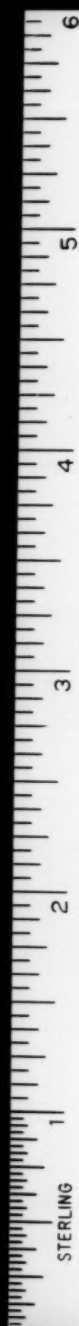




PLUTARCH'S
Morals
*Translated from
the Greek
by severall hands*
Volume 2

London



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H. Braddon Clerk

F. ALCOCK PRATT.

Plutarch's MORALS:

Translated from the *GREEK*

BY

SEVERAL HANDS.

Volume IV.

The Second Edition Corrected and Amended.



L O N D O N,

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TO THE
Right Reverend Father in GOD,
FRANCIS,
Lord Bishop of *ELY*.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordship's Universal Skill
in Languages, is so well known
to the World, that it may appear
a Presumption in the highest Degree, to
lay this Translation at the Feet of so great
a Judge, both as to the Faithfulness of
the Version, and the Purity of the Ex-
pression. But when I consider, that
Your Character is as Eminent for Cha-
rity and Candor, as for all Manner of
Literature, I reckon my self safe under
the Favour and Protection of so much
Generosity and Goodness ; especially,
where

The Epistle Dedicatory.

where the Difficulty of the Work, will in some Measure excuse the Imperfections of it: For, it is a Thing utterly impossible, for an *English* Traduction to come up to the Life and Force of this illustrious Original, and to reach the Inimitable Excellency of our Author's Thoughts and Conceptions. Inasmuch, that whether we consider the Glorious Lives of so many Great and Gallant Men, which *Plutarch* has set forth with a Spirit equal to the Dignity of their Actions; or, whether we reflect upon the Philosophy of his Morals, where we find many Things in his Physicall Remarks, that for want of a true Key, may seem somewhat obscure to the Age we live in; it will be a hard Matter to support the Credit of this Undertaking.

But, my Lord, whatever Diminution this Author may have suffer'd by those that have adventur'd to expose him to the World in our Language, he is yet more than recompens'd under the Patronage

The Epistle Dedicatory.

nage of so great an Ornament, both of
the *English* Church and Nation, which
shall ever be acknowledged with Infinite
Reverence and Gratitude, by

My Lord,

Your Lordships most Dutiful,

and Obedient Ser-vant

Robert Midgley.

The

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Plu-

Plutarch's Morals :

Vol. IV.

Why the Oracles cease to give Answers.

Translated from the GREEK by *Robert Midgley*,
M. D. & Col. Med. Lond. Cand.

THere is an old Story, Friend *Terentius Priscus*, as if heretofore Eagles or Swans flying from the opposite Bounds of the Earth, met together where now stands the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, in the Place now called *The Navel*: And that sometime after, *Epimenides* the *Phæstian* willing to satisfy his Curiosity, enquired of the Oracle of *Apollo*, which was the *Navel* or *Middle* of the World; but received such an Answer as made him never a Jot the wiser :

*The Centre of the Earth is justly known
(Conceal'd from Mortals) to the Gods alone.*

Thus fitly did the God chastise this bold Inquirer into Ancient Traditions.

But in our Time, not long before the Celebration of the *Pythian Games*, during the *Magistracy* of *Callistratus*, there were Two famous Men, who coming as it were from the Two opposite Ends of the World, met together at the City of *Delphos*. The One was *Demetrius* the *Grammarian*, who came from *England*, to return to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, where he was born : The Other, *Cleombrotus* the *Lacedemonian*, who had been long

B

conversant

conversant in *Egypt*, and made several Voyages, as well on the *Red Sea*, as other Parts; not as a Merchant, to get Money, but to improve his Knowledge, and enrich his Mind; for he had enough to live upon, and car'd for no more. He having been lately at the Temple and Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, seem'd not much to marvel at any Thing he there saw: Yet he mentioned to us one Particular (which he said was told him by the *Priest* of the Temple) touching the Lamp that is never extinguish'd, and spendeth every Year less than the former: Whence he conjectured an Inequality of Years, and that the *latter* was still shorter than the *preceding*.

This Discourse was much wondred at by the Company; and *Demetrius*, amongst the rest, affirm'd it unreasonable, to ground the Knowledge of such great Matters, on such slight and trivial conjectures: For, this was not (as *Alcæus* said) to paint the Lyon from the Measure of his Claw, but to change and disorder the Motions of Celestial Bodies, for the sake of a Lamp, or the Snuff of a Candle, and to overthrow at one Stroke all the *Mathematical Sciences*. These Men, reply'd *Cleombrotus*, will not be mov'd by what you say; for first, they will not yeild to *Mathematicians* in point of Certainty, seeing they may be easilier mistaken in their Comprehension of Time, it being so slippery and fallacious and at such a Distance from them, than these Men in the Measures of their Oyl, about which they are so exact and careful. Moreover, *Demetrius* by denying that small Things are oft the Signs and Indications of great, must prejudice several Arts and Sciences, and deprive them of the Proofs of several Conclusions and Predictions. And yet you *Grammarians* will needs vouch, That the *Demi Gods* and *Princes* which were at the *Trojan War*, shav'd with Razors, because you find in *Homer* the mention of such an Instrument; That also, *Ullury* was then in Fashion, because he says in one Place.

Long

Long has my Money swell'd with large Increase.

And because that in several other Places the same Poet calls the Night quick and sharp, you'll needs have him to mean by this Word, That the shadow of the Earth being round, groweth sharp at the End like the Body of a Pyramid. Again, who is he that denying small Things to be the Signs and Proofs of great, will allow what *Physicians* tell us, namely, That great Numbers of Spiders foretel a Pestilent Summer, and also that in the Spring, when the Olive Tree Leaves are as large as a Crows foot, it is then a good Time to put out to Sea? And, who will measure the Greatness of the Suns Body, by *Cliptidres*, or Water-Dyals, with a Pint or Quart of Water? Or prove, that a small Table like a Tyle, making a sharp Angle, leaning on a Plain *Superficies*, should shew the just Measure of the Elevation of the Pole from the *Horizon*, which is ever to be seen in our *Hemisphere*? And this is what the *Priests* may alledge, in favor of what they affirm; so that we must offer other Arguments against them, if we will maintain the Course of the Sun to be fixt and unchangeable, as we here hold it to be. Not only of the Sun (cry'd out aloud the Philosopher *Ammonius*, who was there present) but also of the whole Heaven; for the Passage which he makes from one *Tropique* to another, must of necessity be shortned, seeing he takes not up so great a Part of the *Horizon* as the *Mathematicians* do in again, but becomes less and shorter, as the Southern Part approaches the Northern. Whence consequently, the Summer will fall out to be Shorter, and the Temperature of the Air Colder, by reason of the Sun's turning more inwardly and shewing greater Parallels, and equal distant Circles in the Points of its Reversions, than are in the longest Day in Summer, and the shortest

in Winter. It would moreover also follow, That the Pins of the Dials in the City of *Syene* will be more shadowless at the Summer *Tropicque* or *Solstice*, and not a few of the fixed Stars run under or against one another for want of Room. And should it be alledged, That all the other Celestial Bodies keep their Courses and ordinary Motions, without any Change, they will never be able to cite any Cause which shall hasten his Motion alone above all the rest; but will be forced to confound and disorder all evident Appearances which do clearly shew themselves to our Eyes, and especially those of the Moon: So that there will be no need of observing these Measures of Oyl to know the Difference of the Years, because the Eclipses will do this, if there be any, seeing the Sun does oft meet with the Moon, and the Moon as oft falls within the Shadow of the Earth; so that we need not any longer hold arguing on this Matter. Well, but (say's *Cleombrotus*) I myself have seen the Measure of the Oyl, for they have shewed it several Years; but that of the Present, is far less than that of Ancient Times. Unto which *Ammonius* answered, How comes it to pass then that other People who have the Inextinguishible Fire in Veneration, and have preserved it even Time out of Mind, could never remark this? And granting what you say concerning this Measure of Oyl, is it not better to attribute the Cause of this to some Clodness or Damptness of Air; Or, on the contrary, to some Heat or Dryness, by which the Fire in the Lamp being weakned, needs not so much Nourishment, neither could consume the same Quantity? For, 'tis well know, that Fire burns better in Winter than in Summer, its Heat being drawn in, and enclosed by the Cold, whereas in great Heats and dry Weather 'tis weakned, lying dead and languishing without any strength; and if it be kindled in Sunny Weather, its

Efficacy

Efficacy is small, hardly catching hold of the Wood, and slowly consuming the Fuel. But we may with greater Probability attribute the Circumstance of the Oyl, to the Oyl it self; for Oyl formerly was of less Nutriment, as squeezed out of Olives which grew upon Young Trees; but being since better order'd, as coming of Plants more fully grown, must needs be more Effectual to the nourishing and keeping of the Fire. And this is the best way of saving the Credit of the *Ammonian* Preists in their Supposition, which will not endure the Test of Reason.

Ammonius having finished his Discourse, I Pray said I, *Cleombrotus*, give us some Account of the Oracle, for it has been ever in great Esteem in those Parts, till these Times wherein its Divinity and Reputation seems to be decayed. Unto which *Cleombrotus* making no Answer, but looking down on the Ground, *Demetrius* took up the Discourse saying, You need not busie your self in Enquiries after the Oracles in those Parts, seeing we find the Oracles in these to fail or to speak better, to be totally silenced, except Two or Three; so that 'twould be more to the Purpose to search into the Cause of this Silence. But we are more concern'd in *Beotia*, which although formerly famous throughout all the World for Oracles, is now like a fountain dried up, so that at present we find them dumb. For at this Day there's no Place in all *Beotia*, unless in the Town of *Lebadia*, where one can draw out any Divination, all other Parts being become silent and forsaken. Yet in the Time of the War against the *Persians*, the Oracle of *Pious Apollo* was in Request, as also that of *Amphiaraus*, for both of 'em were tryed; that of *Pious Apollo*, when the Priest who was always wont to return the Oracles Answers in Greek, spake to him that was sent from the *Barbarians* in their own Barbarous Language, so that none of the Assistants understood a Word, whereby

they were given to understand, That 'twas not lawful for the *Barbarians* to have the Use of the *Greek* Tongue at their Pleasure. And as to that of *Amphiaraus*, the Person that was sent thither, having fall'n asleep in the Sanctuary, he Dream'd he heard the Minister of that God bidding him begon out of the Temple, and saying that his God was not there, and presently shoved him out thence with both his Hands; and seeing he still stopt by the Way, he took up a great Stone, and struck him with it on the Head. And what was this, but a Prediction and Denunciation of what was to come to pass? For *Mardonius* was not long after defeated by *Pausanias*, who was no King, but only the King of *Lacedemonia's* Guardian, and the then Lieutenant of the *Grecians* Army, and was with a stone flung out of a Sling, fell'd to the Ground, just as the *Lydian* Servant thought he was struk in his Dream. In the same Manner also flourished the Oracle near *Tegyra*, where 'tis said *Apollo* himself was born, and in Effect, there are Two Rivers that slide near one another, one of which is call'd the *Palm-Tree*, and the other the *Olive-Tree*. And at this Oracle in the Time of the *Medes* War, *Echerates* being then the Prophet, the God *Apollo* answered by his Mouth, That the Honour and profit of this War would fall to the *Greeks* Share. And during the *Peloponnesian* War, the *Delians* having been driven out of their Island, they had Word brought them from the Oracle of *Delphos* that they should search for the Place where *Apollo* was born, and there make some certain Sacrifices. At which they marvelling, and demanding, Whether *Apollo* was born elsewhere than in their Parts, the Prophetess *Pythia* moreover told them, That a *Crom* would shew them the Place. These Deputies from the *Delians*, in their Return Home past by Chance through the City of *Charonea*, where they heard their Hostess talking to some Travellers about the Oracle of *Tegyra*,

to whom they were going, and at their parting they heard 'em say to her, *Adieu Dame Coron*; by which they comprhended the meaning of *Pythia's* Answer; and having offered thir Sacrifices at *Tegyra*, they were soon after restored and established in their own Country. Yet there have been given later Answers from these *Oracles*, than those you have mentioned; but now they have wholly cea'sd, so that 'twill not be besides the Matter, seeing we are at *Apollo Pythius*, to enquire after the Cause of this Change.

Thus discoursing together, we left the Temple, and were come as far as the *Cnidian* Hall, where entring in, we found our Friends which we lookt for, being sat down in Expectation of our coming. All the rest were at leasure, by reason of the time of the day, and did nothing but anonint their Bodies, or gaze on the Wrestlers, who were exercising of themselves. Whereupon *Demetrius* laughing, said to 'em, It seems to me, that you are not discoursing of any Matter of great Consequence, for I see, you labor not under deep Thoughts. 'Tis true, reply'd *Heracleon* the *Megarian*, we are not a disputing, Whether the Verb *βαῖνω* in his Future Tense loses one of his λ's nor from what *Positive* or *Primitive* are formed or derived these two *Comparatives* *χείρον* and *βέλτιον* and these two *Superlatives* *χείριστον* and *βελτιστον*; for such Questions as these, make People knit their Brows. A Man may discourse of all other Matters, especially of *Philosophy*, without these frowning angry Looks that put the by-standers into a fright. Receive us then, said *Demetrius*, into your Company, and if you please, the Question too which has been now agitated amongst us, which does well agree with the Place where we are, and, relating to the God *Apollo*, concernes therefore all that are here; but however, let's have no knitting of the Brows or frowning Looks. Being then all sat down

cloise together, and *Demetrius* having proposed the Question we were upon, *Didymus* the *Cynic* Philosopher, surnamed *Planetiades*, getting up on his Feet, and striking the Ground Two or Three Times with his Stick, cryed out, O *Jupiter*! what a hard Question do you offer, what a difficult Matter do you propose? for is it any wonder, the whole World wallowing in wickedness, and Men having put away all Shame and Sence of Honour from them (as *Hesiod* long ago complain'd) that the *Gods* should no longer suffer their *Oracles* to be among them as heretofore? For my Part, I wonder ther's so much as One left, and that *Hercules* or some other of the *Gods*, has not long since pluckt up, and carry'd away the *Three-Footed-Stool*, whereon is offered such base and villainous Questions to *Apollo*; some coming to him as a mere paltry *Astrologer*, to try his Skill, and impose on him by subtle Questions; others asking him about Treasures buried under Ground, others about marrying a Fortune: So that *Pythagoras* will be here soon convinced of his Mistake, when he affirm'd, *That the Time when Men are honestest, is when they present themselves before the Gods*; for those filthy Passions which they dare not discover before a grave Mortal Man, they scruple not to utter to *Apollo*. He had gone further, if *Heracleon* had not pull'd him by the Sleeve; and my self, who was better acquainted than any in the Company besides, thus spake to him; Cease, Friend *Planetiades*, from anguing *Apollo* against thee, seeing he is sharp and cholerick, and not easily reconciled; for as *Pindar* says,

That Men he favor Heav'n has him enjoyn'd.

And whether he be the Sun, or the Master of the Sun; or Father of it, being above all visible Natures, 'tis not to be suppos'd he disdains to hold any further intercourse with Men at this Time, seeing he gives them
their

their Birth, Nourishment, Subsistence and Reason. Neither is it credible that the Divine Providence (who like a kind and indulgent Mother, produces and conserves all Things for our Use) should shew her self malevolent only in the Matter of Divination, or deprive us of it, having once given it us; as it, when there were more *Oracles* than there are now in the World Men were not then as wicked. But let us make a *Pythic Truce* (as they say) with Vice, which you are always sharply reprehending, and sit down here with us to try, Whether we can find out any other Cause of the ceasing of *Oracles*; and let me only advise you by the way, to have better Thoughts of God, than to suppose him so prone to Anger. *Planetiades* was so moved with these Speeches, that he went away immediately without speaking a Word. The Company remaining a while in Silence, *Ammonius* addressing himself to me, said Prethee, *Lamprias*, let's take Care of what we say, and not be rash in our Assertions; for we do not well when we make God to be little or no Cause of these *Oracles* ceasing; for, he that attributes the failing of them to any other Cause than the Will and Decree of God, gives occasion to suspect his Belief, Whether there ever were, or are now any by his Disposition, but by some other Means; for there is no other more excellent and noble Cause and Power, which can destroy and abolish Divination, if it be the Work of God. And as for *Planetiades* his Discourse, it does not at all please me, as well for the Inequality and Inconstancy which he attributes to God, as for other Reasons. For he makes him sometimes rejecting and detesting of Vice, and sometimes admitting and receiving it, just as a King or rather a Tyrant, who drives wicked People out of one Gate, and receives them through another, and negotiates with them. But the greatest and most perfect
Work

Work that will admit of no Additions, is that which agrees best with the Dignity of the Gods ; by supposing this, we may in my judgment affirm, That in this common Scarcity of Men occasioned by the former Wars and Seditions over all the World, Greece has most suffered ; so that she can with much Difficulty raise 3000 Men, which Number the single City of *Megara* sent heretofore to the Battle of *Platæa*. Wherefore if God now forsakes several Oracles which anciently were frequented, what is this but a Sign that Greece is at this Time very much dispeopled, in Comparison of what it was heretofore ; and he that will affirm this, shall not want for Arguments. For, of what Use would the Oracle be now, which was heretofore at *Tegyra* or at *Pions* ? for scarcely shall you meet in a whole Days time, with so much as a Herdsman or Shepherd in those Parts. We find also in Writing, that this Place of Divination where we now are, and which is as ancient as any, and as famous and renowned as any is in all Greece, was for a considerable Time deserted and inaccessible, by Means of a dangerous Creature that resorted thither, namely a *Dragon*. Yet those that have written this, did not well comprehend the occasion of the Oracles ceasing ; for the *Dragon* did not make the Place Solitary, but rather the Solitude of the Place occasioned the *Dragon* to repair thither. Since that Time, when Greece became populous and full of Towns, they had Two Women *Propheteesses*, who went down one after another into the *Hole*. Moreover, there was a Third chosen, if need were ; whereas now there is but one, and yet we do not complain of it, because she's sufficient. And therefore we do not well to repine at Providence, seeing there's no want of Divinations, where all that come are satisfied in whatever they desire to know. *Homer*
tells

tells us, *Agamemnon* had Nine *Heralds*, and yet with these could he hardly keep in Order the *Greeks*, they being so many in Number; but you'll find now, that the Voice of one Man is sufficient to be heard all over the *Theatre*. The *Oracles* then spake by more Organs or Voices, because there were then a greater Number of Men. So that we should think it strange, if *God* should suffer to be spilt and run to waste like Water, the Prophetical Divination, every where resounding, as in the Fields we hear the Rocks in Mountains echoing the Voices of bleating Cattel. *Ammonius* having said these Words, and I returning no Answer, *Cleombrotus* took up the Discourse, and addressing himself to me; Hast thou then, said he, confess'd that 'tis *God* who makes and un-makes *Oracles*? Not I, said I; for I maintain, That *God* was never the Cause of taking away and abolishing any *Oracle* or Divination; but, on the contrary, whereas he produces and prepares several Things for our Use, so Nature leads them into Corruption, and not seldom into a Privation of their whole Being. Or, to speak better, Matter, which is it self Privation, often flies away, and dissolves what a more excellent *Being* than her self had wrought. So that I am of Opinion, there are other Causes which obscure and extinguish these Prophetic Spirits: For, tho' *God* does give to Men several good and excellent Things, yet he gives to none of 'em the Power to exist eternally; for tho' they never dye, yet their Gifts do (as *Sophocles* speaks.) 'Twere then well becoming *Philosophers*, who exercise themselves in the Study of *Nature*, and the *First Matter*, to enquire into the Existence, Propriety and Tendency of those Things, but to leave the Origin and First Cause to *God*, as is most reasonable. For 'tis a very childish and silly Thing to suppose, That *God* himself does, like the *Spirits* speaking in the Bowels

Bowels of possessed Persons (which were anciently called *Eurycles*, and now *Pythons*) enter into the Bodies of the Prophets, and speak by their Mouths and Voices, as fit Instruments for that Purpose; for he that thus mixes *God* in Human Affairs, has not that Respect and Reverence which is due to so great a Majesty, as being ignorant of his Power and Virtue. *Cleombrotus* then answered, You say very well, but 'tis a hard Matter to comprehend and define, how far this Providence does extend it self. They seem both alike faulty to me, who will have *God* to be the Cause of Nothing in the World, and those who will have him to be concerned in all Things; for both of these are run into Extremes. But as those say well, who hold that *Plato*, having invented this Element, on which spring up the Qualities which we sometimes call the *First Matter*, and sometimes *Nature*, has thereby delivered the *Philosophers* from several great Difficulties: So it seems to me, that those who have rankt the *Genus* of *Demons* between that of *Gods* and Men, have solved greater Doubts and Difficulties, as having found the Knot which does, as it were, joyn and hold together our Society and Communication with them. 'Tis uncertain whence this Opinion arose, whether from the Ancient *Magi Zoroastres*, or from *Thrace* by *Orpheus*, or from *Egypt*, or *Phrygia*, as may be conjectured from the Sight of the Sacrifices, which are made in both Countries, where amongst their Holy and Divine Ceremonies, there's seen a Mixture of Morality and Mourning. And, as to the *Greeks*, *Homer* has indifferently used these Two Names, terming sometimes the *Gods*, *Demons*, and other whiles *Demons*, *Gods*. But *Hesiod* was the first that did best and most distinctly lay down Four Reasonable Natures, the *Gods*, the *Demons* (being many in Number, and
good

good in their Kind) the *Demy Gods*, and *Men*; for, *Heroes* are reckoned amongst the *Demy Gods*. Others say, there's a Transmutation of Bodies as well as of Souls, just as we see, of the Earth is engendred Water, of the Water the Air, and of the Air Fire, the Nature of the Substance still ascending higher; so, good *Spirits* always change for the best, being transformed from *Men* into *Demy-Gods*, and from *Demy-Gods* into *Demons*, and from *Demons* by Degrees and in a long Space of Time, being refined and purified they come to partake of the Nature of the *Divinity*. But there are some that cannot contain themselves, but rove about till they be entangled into Mortal Bodies, where they live meanly and obscurely like Smoak. And moreover, *Hesiod* imagins, that the *Demons* themselves after certain Revolutions of Time, do at Length dye; for introducing a *Nymph* speaking, he marks the Time wherein they expire:

*Nine times Man's Age at's prime, it plain appears:
The Daw compleats, four Times the Stag his Years,
And his nine Times the Crow; the Phœnix takes
More line, and his Stage ten Times longer makes:
By you, blest Nymphs, the Phœnix is out done,
Who ends his Life when yours is just begun,
Decreed by Fate ten Times as long to run.*

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}

Now those which do not well understand what the Poet means by this Word *γῆρας*, Which is to say, the Age of a Man, do Cause this Computation of Time to amount to a great Number of Years, though it be but one Year; so that the Total Summ makes but 9720 Years, which is the space of the Age of *Demons*. And there are several *Mathematicians*, which make it shorter than this. *Pindar* himself does not make it longer, when he

he says, The Destiny of the Life of *Nymphs* is equal to Trees, and therefore they are call'd *Hamadryades*, because they spring up and dye with Oaks. He was going on, when *Demetrius* interrupting him, thus said; How is it possible, *Cleombrotus*, that you should maintain, That, a Year was call'd by this *Poet*, the Age of a Man, seeing it is not the Space, nor the Flower and Youth, nor his Old Age; for here are divers Readings of this Place, some reading *ἡβωνίῳ*, others *γρηωνίῳ*, and one signifying *flourishing*, the other *aged*; and those that understand hereby *flourishing*, reckon Thirty Years for the Age of Man's Life, according to the Opinion of *Heracitus*, this being the space of Time in which a Father has begotten a Son, who then is apt and able to beget another; and those that read *γρηωνίῳ*, aged, allow to the Age of Man an Hundred and Eight Years, saying, that Fifty Four Years are just the half part of a Man's Life, which Number consists of an Unity, the Two first Plains, of Two Squares and Two Cubes; which Numbers *Plato* himself has appropriated to the procreation of the Soul. And it seems also, that *Hesiod* by these Words intimated the Consummation of the World by Fire; at which Time 'tis likely the *Nymphs*, with the Rivers, Marshes and Woods where they inhabit, shall be consumed:

*Such as in Woods, or Grottos Shady Cell,
Near Sacred Springs, and verdant Meadows dwell.*

I have heard, says *Cleombrotus*, this alledged by several, and find that the *Stoical Conflagration* hath not only intruded it self upon the Works of *Heracitus* and *Orpheus*, but also *Hesiod's*, by imposing such Meanings on their Words as they never thought on. Neither can I any more approve of this Consummation of the World, which they maintain; neither is it possible to have made just Observations on the Lives of Animals, as appears by the Number of Years which they attribute

bute to Crows and Stags. Moreover, the Year containing in it self the Beginning and End of all Things which the Seasons bring and the Earth produces, may, in my Opinion, be not impertinently called *The Age of Man*; for your selves confels, that *Hesiod* does somewhere call the Life of Man *yeved*; What say you, does he not? Which *Demetrius* confessing, he proceeded in this Manner: 'Tis also certain, that we call the Vessels whereby we measure Things, by the Names of the Things measured in them. As we then call an Unite a Number, though it be but the least Part and Measure, and the Beginning of a Number; so has he called a Year the Age of Man, because 'tis the Measure wherewith 'tis measured. As for those Numbers which those others describe, they be not of such Singularity and Importance. But the Summ of 9720, consists of Four special Numbers orderly arising from One; and the same added together, and multiplied by Four every way, amounts to Forty: these Forties being reduced into Triangles by Five Times, make up the Total of the forecited Number. But as to that 'tis not necessary to enter into a Debate with *Demetrius*; for whether it be a short or a long Time, certain or uncertain, wherewith *Hesiod* limits the Soul of a *Demon*, and the Life of a *Demy-God*, either of those will prove, by ancient and evident Testimonies, that there are Natures neuter and mean, and as it were in the Confines of the *Gods* and *Men*, subject to Mortal Passions, and to receive Mutations and necessary Changes; which Natures, according to the Tradition and Example of our Predecessors, 'tis fitting we should call *Demons*, and give them all due Honor. To which Purpose *Xenocrates*, one of the familiar Friends of *Plato*, was wont to alledge the Example of Triangles, which agree very well with the Subject; for, that Triangle which has Three Sides, and
equal

equal Angles, he compared unto the *Divine* and *Immortal* Nature, and that which has all Three unequal, to the *Human* and *Mortal* Nature, and that which has Two equal and One unequal, to the Nature of *Demons*, which is endued with the Passions and Perturbations of the *Mortal* Nature, and the Force and Power of the *Divine*. Even Nature has set before us sensible Figures and Resemblance of this; of the *Gods*, the Sun and the Stars; of *Mortal Men*, the Comets, Flashings in the Night, and shooting Stars; And this Similitude is taken up by *Euripides*, when he saith,

*He that but now was fleshy, plump and gay,
As a fal'n Star his Glories melt away;
Like that extinguisht on the Ground he lies
Breathing his Soul into the ambient Skies,
Which strait embodied in its Vehicle
Does in the Air like other Demons dwell :*

And for a mixt Body representing the Nature of *Demons*, the Moon; which some observing to be subject to encrease and decrease, and wholly to disappear, have thought it very agreeable to the mutable Condition of *Demons*; and have for this Reason termed her a Terrestrial Star, others *Olympic* Earth, and others the Inheritance and Possession of *Proserpine* both Heavenly and Earthly. As one then that should take from the World the Air, and remove it from between the Moon and the Earth, would dissolve the Continuation and Composition of the Universe, by leaving an empty Place in the Midst, without any Contexture to hold the Two Parts together; so those that do not allow *Demons*, do oppose all Communication and Conference of the *Gods* with Men, seeing they destroy that Nature (as *Plato* says) which serves as an Interpreter and Messenger between them both; or else they constrain us to perplex and confound

found all Things together, by mixing the *Divine* Nature with *Human* Passions, and plucking it down from Heaven, as the Women of *Theffaly* are said to do the Moon, which Fiction has met with Belief in some Women; because *Aglaonice*, the Daughter of *Agetor*, being Skilful in *Astrology*, made the Vulgar believe, that by Means of some Charms and Enchantments, she could bring the Moon down from Heaven. But as to us, let's not think there are any *Oracles* or *Divinations* without some *Divinity*, or that the *Gods* are not pleas'd with Sacrifices, and our Services, and other Ceremonies. And, on the other Hand, let's not think that *God* is present in them, or employs himself personally about them, but that he does commit them to his Officers, the *Demons*, who are the Spies and Scouts of the *Gods*, wandring and circuiting about at their Commands; some beholding and ordering the sacred Ceremonies and Oblations offered to the *Gods*, others being employ'd to revenge and punish the high Misdemeanors and enormous Injustices of Men. There are moreover others, to whom *Hesiod* gives a very venerable Name, calling them, the Distributers of Riches, and Donors of Largeſſes among Mortals; for the *Gods* have allowed them the Privilege, and granted them a Royal Commission to see them duly distributed. As informing here by the Way, that to be benificent and liberal of Favors, is the proper Office of a King. For there is a Difference of Virtue between these *Demons*, as much as between Men, and there are some of them in whom still there are some small Remains (tho weak and scarcely discernible) of the Sensitive and Irrational Soul, which like a small Quantity of Excrements and Superfluities, stay still behind. Others there are, in whom there abideth a greater Measure of these gross Humors, the Marks
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and Traces of which are to be seen in many Places, by the odd and singular Ceremonies and Sacrifices which they require, as is vulgarly known. As to the Mysteries and secret Ceremonies, by which we may more clearly, than by any other Means, understand the Nature of *Demons*; I shall, with *Herodotus*, be cautious in treating of that Matter. But as to the certain Feasts and direful Sacrifices, which are held as Unfortunate and Mournful Days, and are celebrated by eating raw Flesh, and which is torn with Men's Nails; or, other Days wherein they fast, and smite their Breasts; and, in several Places, where filthy and dishonest Words are uttered during the Sacrifices, I will never think this done on any of the God's Account, but rather to avert, mollify and appease the Wrath and Fury of some *bad Demons*: for, 'tis not likely there ever was a God that expected or required men to be sacrificed to him; as has been anciently done, or received such kind of Sacrifices with Approbation. Neither must we imagine 'twas for nothing, that Kings and Great Men have delivered their own Children to be sacrificed, or that they sacrificed them themselves with their own Hands; seeing, they intended hereby to avert and appease the Malice and Rancor of some *Evil Spirits*, or to satisfy the violent and Raging Lusts of some, who either could not or would not enjoy them with their Bodies or by their Bodies. Even as *Hercules* besieged the City *Oechalia*, for a Wench that was therein: so these Powerful and Tyrannical *Demons*, requiring some Human Soul, which is still compassed with a Body, and yet not being able to satisfy their Lust by the Body, do therefore bring the Plague and Famine into Towns, raise Wars and Seditions, till such Time as they obtain and enjoy that which they love. Others, on the contrary (as I remember I observ'd in *Candia*, for I was some considerable Time there) celebrate a Feast, in
which

which they shew the Figure of a Man without a Head saying, 'Tis *Molus*, the Father of *Mexiones*, who having violently laid Hands on the *Nymph*, was afterwards seen without a Head. The Rapes committed on Boys or Girls, the long Voyages, Flights, Banishments and voluntary Services of the *Gods*, which are sung by the *Poets*, and related by the Celebration of their Wit or Power, are not Passions and Vertues fitting to be attributed to *Gods* but to *Demons*. Neither is *Aeschilus* in the right when he says,

Divine Apollo banisht from the Sky.

Nor *Almetus* in *Sophocles* ;

My Cock by crowing led him to the Mill.

The *Divines* of *Delphos* were far from the Truth when they asserted, That there was a Combat between *Apollo* and a *Dragon* about the Possession of this *Oracle*. No less are they to blame who suffer the *Poets* or *Orators* in the open *Theatres* to act or speak of such Matters; whereby they seem to condemn those Things which themselves perform in their sacred Solemnities. *Philippus* wondering at what was last said (for this Man was an Historian, and then present in the Company) he enquired what Divine Solemnities they Contradicted and Condemned, who contend one against another in the *Theatres*. Even those, quoth *Cleombrotus*, which concern the *Oracle* of *Delphos*, and by which this City having lately admitted and receiving into these Ceremonies and Sacrifices, all the *Greeks* without *Thermopyla*, and excluded those that dwell as far as the Vale of *Tempe*. For the *Tabernacle* of *Boughs* which is set up every Ninth Year, within the Court-Yard of this Temple, is not a Representation of the *Dragons* Den, but of some King or Tyrant ; and the assaulting of it in

great Silence, by the Way termed *Delonia*. And immediately they lead hither a young Youth whose Father and Mother is still living, with Torches burning; and having set this Tabernacle on Fire, and overthrown the Table, they run away as fast as they are able, through the Doors of the Temple, never looking behind them. In fine, this Boys Wandrings, together with his Servile Offices, and expiatory Sacrifices about *Tempe*, seem to declare the Commission of some horrid Crime in this Place. For it looks silly to affirm, That *Apollo* for having kill'd the *Dragon*, was forc'd to fly to the farthest Parts of *Greece* to be cleansed and purified; and, that he there made certain Offerings and Libations, as Men do when they design the appeasing those vindictive Spirits, whom we call *Alastors* and *Palamnaos*, which is to say, the Revengers of such Crimes as cannot be forgotten, but must have Punishment. 'Tis true indeed, that the Relation which I have heard, touching this Flight, is very strange and wonderful; but if there be any Truth in it, we must not suppose 'twas an ordinary and common Matter, which happen'd then about this Oracle. Yet lest I should be thought, as *Empedocles* says,

*Starting new Heads, to wander from the Text,
And make the Theme we have in Hand, perplex.*

I entreat you let me put a fit Conclusion to my Discourse (for now the Time requires it) and to say what several have said before me, That when the *Demons*, who are appointed for the Government and Superintendency of *Oracles*, do fail, the *Oracles* must of Necessity also fail too; and, when they depart elsewhere, the Divining Powers, must likewise cease in those Places, but returning again after a long

long Time, the Places will begin again to speak; like Musical Instruments, if handled by those that know how to use them. *Cleombrotus* having said thus much, *Heracleon* took up the Discourse, saying; We have never an *Infidel* amongst us, but are all agreed in our Opinions touching the *Gods*. Yet let's have a Care, *Philippus*, lest in the Heat and Multiplicity of our Words we unawares broach not some false Doctrine that may tend to Impiety. Well! but, saith *Philippus*, I hope *Cleombrotus* has not said any thing which may occasion this Caution. His asserting (says *Heracleon*) That they be not the *Gods* who preside over the *Oracles* (because we are to suppose them free from all Worldly Care) but *Demons*, or the *Gods* Officers or Messengers, does not scandalize me; but to assert from *Empedocles*, That these *Demons* are the Causes of all the Calamities, Vexations and Plagues, which happen to Mortal Men, and in the End to make them to dye like them; this, in my Mind, favors of bold Presumption. *Cleombrotus* having askt *Philippus*, Who this Young Man was, and being inform'd of his Name and Country, he proceeded in this Manner: I know very well, *Heracleon*, that the Discourse I used may bear an absurd Construction; but ther's no speaking of great Matters, without laying first great Foundations, for the Proof of ones Opinion. But as for your part, you are not sensible, how you contradict even that which you allow; for granting as you do that there be *Demons*, but not allowing 'em to be vicious and mortal, you cannot prove there are any at all: for, wherein do they differ from *Gods*, supposing they be incorruptible and impassible, and not liable to Error? Whilst *Heracleon* was musing and studying how to answer this, *Cleombrotus* went on, saying, 'Tis not only *Empedocles* who affirms there are bad *Demons*, but even *Plato*, *Xenocrates* and *Chrysippus*, yea and *Democri-*

ius, when he prayed he might meet with good Spirits; which shews, That he thought there were bad, as well as good Demons. And as to their Mortality, I have heard it reported from a Parson that was neither Fool nor Knave, being *Epitherses*, the Father of *Amilanus* the Orator, whom some of you have heard declaim. This *Epithersus* was my Townsman and School-master, who told me, That designing a Voyage to Italy, he embark'd himself on a Vessel well laden both with Goods and Passengers. About the Evening the Vessel was becalm'd about the Isles *Echinades*, whereupon their Ship drove with the Tide till it was carry'd near the Isles of *Paxes*: When immediately a Voice was heard by most of the Passengers (who were then awake, and taking a Cup after Supper) calling unto one *Thamus*, and that with so loud a Voice, as made all the Company amazed; which *Thamus* was a Mariner of *Egypt*, whose Name was scarcely known in the Ship. He returned no Answer to the first Calls, but at the Third he replied, *Here! here! I am the Man*. Then the Voice said aloud to him, *When you are arrived at Palodes, take Care to make it known, that the great God PAN is dead*. *Epitherses* told us, this Voice did much astonish all that heard it, and caused much arguing, Whether this Voice was to be obeyed or slighted. *Thamus*, for his part, was resolv'd, if the Wind permitted, to sayl by the Place without saying a Word; but if the Wind ceas'd, and there ensu'd a Calm, to spake and cry out as loud as he was able what he was enjoyn'd. Being come to *Palodes*, there was no Wind stirring, and the Sea was as smooth as Glass. Whereupon *Thamus* standing on the Deck, with his Face towards the Land, uttered with a loud Voice his Message, saying, *The Great PAN is dead*. He had no sooner said this, but they heard a dreadful Noise, not only of one but of several

several, who, to their thinking, groan'd and lamented with a kind of Astonishment. And there being many Persons in the Ship, an account of this was soon spread over *Rome*, which made *Tiberius* the *Emperor* send for *Thamus*, and seem'd to give such heed to what he told him, that he earnestly enquired who this *PAN* was. And the Learned Men about him gave in their Judgments, That 'twas the Sun of *Mercury* by *Penelope*. There were some then in the Company, who declared, They had heard old *Æmilianus* say as much. *Demetrius* then related, That about *Britain* there were many small and desolate Islands, some of which were called the Isles of *Demons* and *Demy-Gods*; and that he himself at the Command of the *Emperor*, sailed to the nearest of those Places for Curiosity sake, where he found few Inhabitants, but that they were all esteemed by the *Britains*, as *Sacred* and *Divine*. Not long after he was arrived there, he said, the Air and the Weather were very foul and tempestuous, and there followed a terrible Storm of Wind and Thunder; which at length ceasing, he says, the Inhabitants told him, That one of the *Demons* or *Demy Gods* was deceased. For, as a *Lamp*, said he, while 'tis lighted offends no body with its scent, but when 'tis extinguished it sends out such a Scent as is nauseous to every body; so these great Souls, whilst they shine, are mild and gracious, without being troublsome to any body; but when they draw to an end, they cause great Storms and Tempests, and not seldom infect the Air with contagious Distempers. They say farther, That *Saturn* is detained Prisoner in one of those Islands, whom he keeps fast asleep in Chains, and that he has several of those *Demons* for his Valers and Attendants. Thus then spake *Cleombrotus*; I could, says he, relate several such Stories as these, but 'tis sufficient that what has bin said as yet, does not contradict the Opinion of any one here.

And we all know, the *Stoicks* believe the same as we do concerning the *Demons*; and, that amongst the great Company of *Gods* which are commonly believ'd, there is but one who is *Eternal* and *Immortal*; all the rest having bin born in Time, shall end by Death. As to the Flouts and Scoffing of the *Epicureans*, they are not to be regarded, seeing they have the Boldness to treat Divine Providence with as little Reverence, calling it by no better a Name, than a mere Whimsy and old Wives Fable. Whereas we, on the contrary, assert, That their *Infinite* World is truly ridiculous, seeing among such endless numbers of them, there's not one governed by Reason or Divine Providence, they having been all made and upheld by Chance. If we cannot forbear drolling even in matters of *Philosophy*, they are most to be ridiculed, who bring into their Disputes of natural Questions, certain deaf, blind and dumb Images, which appear they know not where nor when, which they say, proceed from Bodies, some of which are still living, and others long since dead and rotten. Now, such peoples Opinions as these, must needs be expolded and derided by all rational Men. Yet these very People shall be offended and angry at a Mans saying, There be *Demons*, and that they subsist and continue a long time. Here *Ammonius* began to speak, saying, In my Opinion, *Theophrastus* was in the right, and spoke like a *Philosopher* and a *Divine*; for, whoever shall deny what he alledges, must also reject many things which are and do often happen, though we understand not the Reasons why they do so; and granting what he offers to be true, What ill consequences follow hereupon? But as to what I have heard the *Epicureans* alledge against the *Demons* which *Empedocles* asserts, as, That 'tis impossible they can be happy and long-liv'd if they be bad and viciously affected, because Vice in its own nature is blind, and naturally

naturally precipitates it self into such mischeifs as destroy Life; that, I must tell you, is vain and idle. For if this reasoning be good, 'twill then follow, That *Epicurus* was a worse Man than *Gorgias* the *Sophister*, and *Metrodorus* than *Alexis* the *Comic Actor*; for he liv'd twice as long as *Metrodorus*, and *Gorgias* much longer than *Epicurus*. For, 'tis in another regard, we say Vertue is strong, and Vice weak, not in reference to the continuance or dissolution of the Body; for we know there are many Animals which are dull, slow and heavy, and many disorderly and lustful, which live longer than those that are more sagacious and quicker of Sence. And therefore they are much in the wrong in saying; The *Divine Nature* is Immortal, because it avoideth the things which are ill and mischievous; for they should have supposed the *Divine Nature* free from all possibility of falling into Corruption and Alteration. But perhaps 'twill be thought not fair, to dispute against those that are absent; I would have therefore *Cleombrotus* to resume his Discourse, touching the Vanishing and Transmigration of *Demons* from one Place to another. With all my heart, answered *Cleombrotus*, but I shall now say something which will seem more absurd than any thing I have heretofore offered, although it seems to be grounded on Natural Reason; and *Plato* himself has touched upon it, not positively affirming it, but offering it as a probable Opinion. And seeing we are fall'n into a free Discourse, and that a Man cannot light into better Company, and a more favourable Auditory, I shall therefore tell you a Story which I heard from a Stranger, whose acquaintance has cost me no small Sum of Mony in searching after him in diverse Countries, whom at length after much Travel, I found near the *Red-Sea*. He would converse with Men but once a Year, all the rest of his time (as he told me) he spent

spent among the *Nymphs*, *Namades* and *Demons*. He was very free with me and extremely obliging: I never saw a more graceful Person in all my Life; and that which was very strange in him, was, that he was never subject to any Disease; once every Month he eat the bitter Fruit of a certain Medicinal Herb. He spake several Languages perfectly well; his Discourse to me was in the *Doric* Dialect; his Speech was as charming as the sweetest Musick, and as soon as ever he opened his Mouth to speak, there issued out of it so sweet and fragrant a Breath, that all the Place was fill'd with it. Now, as to *Human Learning*, such as *History* &c. he retained the Knowledge thereof all the Year; but as the Gift of *Divination*, he was inspired therewith only one Day in the Year; in which he went down to the Sea-side, and there foretold things to come. And thither resorted to him the Princes and Great Men of all the Country, or else their Secretaries, who there attended his coming at a prefixed Day, and then returned. This Person attributed *Divination* to the *Demons*, and was well pleased to hear what we related concerning *Delphos*. Whatsoever we told concerning *Bacchus*, and the Sacrifices which are offered to him, he knew it all, saying, That as these were great Accidents which hapned to *Demons*, so also was that which was related of the Serpent *Python*; affirming, That he who slew him was not banished for Nine Years, neither did he fly into the Vally of *Tempe*, but was driven out of *this* World into *another*; from whence, after Nine Revolutions of the *Great Years*, being returned, cleansed and purified, and become a true *Phæbus*, that is to say, clear and bright, he had at length recovered the Superintendence of the *Delphic Oracle*; which in the mean time was committed to the Charge of *Themis*. He said as much concerning what is related of the *Typhons* and *Titans*. For he affirmed, They
were

were the Battels of *Dæmons* against *Dæmons*, and the Flights and Banishments of those that had been vanquished, or the Punishments inflicted by the *Gods* on those which had committed such Facts, as *Typhon* is said to have done against *Osiris*, and *Saturn* against *Cælum*, whose Honours are much obscured, or wholly lost, by being translated into another World. For I know that the *Solymeans*, who are Borderers to the *Licyans*, did greatly honour *Saturn*; but since he kill'd their Princes, *Arſalus*, *Dryus* and *Throſobius*, he fled into some other Country, they knew not where, and he now is in a manner forgotten. But they called these three, *Arſalus*, *Dryus* and *Throſobius*, the severe *Gods*, and the *Lycians* do at this Day curse People in their Names, as well in private as public. Several other such like Examples may a Man find in the Records of the *Gods*. And if we call any of the *Dæmons* by the usual and common Names of the *Gods* on whom they do depend, 'tis no marvel at all (said this great Man) for they like to be called by the *Gods* on whom they do depend, and from whom they have received their Honour and Power; even as amongst us Men, one is named *Jovius*, another *Pallidius* or *Apollonius*. And there are some, who though they have their Names imposed on them, as it were by chance, yet do they well agree with their Tempers; whereas some carry the Names of the *Gods*, which do not at all suit with their Weaknesses and Imperfections. Here *Cleombrotus* having paused, his Discourse seemed strange to all the Company, and *Heraclæon* demanded of him, how this Discourse concern'd *Plato*, and how he had given Occasion to this Discourse? Unto which *Cleombrotus* answered, You do well to put me in mind of it; for first, he ever rejected the Infinity of Worlds, yet would determine nothing positively, touching the precise Number of them: And granting the Probability of their Opinion, who
affirmed

affirmed there were Five in each Element; as to his own Part, he kept to One, which seems to be his Genuine Opinion; whereas all other *Philosophers* have been afraid to receive and admit the Multitude of Worlds; as if those who did not refer and determine the Matter to One, must needs fall into this troublesome and boundless Infinity. But was this Stranger, said I, of the same Opinion with *Plato*, touching the Number of the Worlds? or did you not all the while ask his Opinion in that Matter? I was far from failing herein, says *Cleombrotus*, seeing I found him so communicative and affable to me. He told me, That neither the Number of the Worlds was Infinite, neither was there but only One, nor Five, but an Hundred and Eighty three, which were ranged in a Triangular Form, every Side containing Sixty Worlds; and of the Three remaining, every Corner had One; that they were so ordered, that one always touched another in a Circle, like those who dance in a Ring; that the Plain within the Triangle, is, as it were, the Foundation and common Altar to all those Worlds, which is called *the Plain*, or *Field of Truth*, in which lye the Designs, Moulds, Ideas and invariable Examples of all things which were, or ever shall be; and about these is *Eternity*, whence flowed *Time* as from a River into these Worlds. Moreover, that the Souls of Men, if they have lived well in this World, do see them once in Ten Thousand Years; and that the most Holy, Mystical Ceremonies which are performed here, are no more than a Dream of this Sacred Vision; and farther, That all the Pains which are taken in the Study of *Philosophy*, were to attain to a Sight of those Beauties; otherwise they were all lost Labours. I heard him, said he, relate all these things as perfectly as if they had been some Religious Rites, wherein he would have instructed me; for, he brought me no Proof or Demonstration to confirm

firm what he said. Here turning my self to *Demetrius*, I asked him what were the Words which the Wooers of *Penelope* spake in *Homer*, when they saw *Ulysses* handling his Bow,

A cunning Spy no doubt, and Plagiary.

And *Demetrius* having put me in mind of them, it came, I say, into my Thoughts, to say as much of this wonderful Man. He was a Person conversant in all sorts of Learning, being a *Greek* born, and perfectly well Skill'd in the Studies of his Country; for this Number of Worlds shews us, That he was neither an *Indian*, nor an *Egyptian*, but that his Father was a *Greek* of the Country of *Sicily*, named *Petron*, born in the City of *Himera*, who wrote a little Book on this Subject, which I indeed never saw, nor can tell whether it be extant. But *Hippius*, a Native of *Rhegium*, mentioned by *Phanias* the *Eressian*, tells us, 'twas the Doctrin of *Petron*, That there were an Hundred and Eighty three Worlds, whose Ends were orderly tack'd to one another; but he offers no reason to prove this, 'Tis certain, says *Demetrius*, that *Plato* himself bringing no Argument to evince this Point, does hereby overthrow this Opinion. Yet, says *Heracleon*, we have heard you *Grammarians* say, That *Homer* was the first Author of this Opinion, as having divided the Universe into Five Worlds, Heaven, Water, Air, Earth, and that which he calls *Olympus*, of which, he leaveth Two to be Common (*viz.*) the Earth to all beneath, and *Olympus* to all above, but the Three in the midst between them, he attributes unto Three several Gods. In the like manner, *Plato* assigning unto the principal Parts of the Universe the First Forms, and most excellent Figures of the Bodies, calls them Five Worlds, (*viz.*) that of the *Earth*, of the *Water*, *Air* and *Fire*, and finally,

nally, that which comprehended all the others, which he calls *Dodecaedron*, which is to say, with twelve *Bases*; which amply extending is of easie Motion and Capacity, its Form and Figure being very fit and proper for the Revolutions of the Animal Motions. What need is there then, cry'd *Demetrius*, of bringing in good old *Homer*, For we have had Fables enough already. But *Plato* is far from calling the different Elements *Five Worlds*; for even where he disputes against those who assert an Infinite Number of Worlds, he affirms, there's only One, created of *God*, and beloved by him consisting of Nature intire, having a perfect Body, endued with Self Sufficiency, and wanting nothing; and therefore we may well think it strange, that the Truth which he spake should occasion the Extravagancy of others; for had he not maintained the Worlds Unity, he would in some sort have given a Foundation to those, who affirm an Infinite Number of them; but that he asserted precisely Five, this is marvelously strange, and far from all probability, unless you can (says he, turning himself to me) clear this Point. How! said I, are you then resolved to drop here your first Dispute about *Oracles*, and to take up another of no less Difficulty. Not so neither, repli'd *Demetrius*, yet we must take Cognizance of this, which does, as it were, hold out its Hand to us, though we shall not remain long upon it, but treat of it by the Way, and soon return to our first Discourse. First of all then I say, the Reasons which hinder us from asserting an Infinite Number of Worlds, do not hinder us from affirming, That there are more than One; for as well in many Worlds as in One, there may be *Providence*, *Divination* and *Fortune*, which may intervene in the smallest Things; but most part of the grand and principal Things have, and take their Beginnings and Changes by Order, which could not be in an Infinite
Number

Number of Worlds. And it is more conformable to Reason, to say, That God made more than One World; for being perfectly Good, he wants neither *Power* nor *Good Will*, and least of all, *Justice* and *Friendship*, for they do chiefly become the Nature of the Gods. Now God hath nothing that is superfluous and useless, and therefore there must be other Inferior Gods proceeding from him, and other Worlds made by him, towards whom he must use these social Vertues; for he cannot exercise those Vertues of Justice and Benignity on himself, but to others; so that it is not likely this World should float and wander about, without either Friend, Neighbor, or any sort of Communication, into an Infinite *Vacuum*. For we see Nature includes and contains all things in their *Species*, like as in Vessels, or in Husks of Seeds; for there's nothing in Nature of which there is but one and no more, but has the Reason of its Being common with others; neither is there any thing that hath a particular Denomination, but besides the common Notion, it is by some particular Qualities distinct from others of the same *Genus*. Now, the World is not termed so in Common, it must be then such in Particular, and qualified it is in Particular, and distinguished by certain Differences, from other Worlds, of the same Kind. For there being no such Thing in Nature as one Man alone, one Horse, one Star, one God, one Demon; so there is not in Nature one only World, and no more, it being certain, that there are several. And he that shall object against me, That this World hath likewise but one Earth, and one Sea, I can answer him, He is much deceived, by not understanding the Evidence of like Parts. For we divide the Earth into Similar Parts, and of the same Denomination; for all the Parts of the Earth are Earth, and so of the Sea; but no Part of the World is the World, it being composed of divers and different Natures;

Natures; for as to the Inconvenience which some do seem to fear, and in respect of which they confine all all the Matter within One World, lest there remaining any thing without, it should disturb the Composition of this, by the Resistances and Jarrs which it would make against it; they have no need to dread this; for, there being Many Worlds, and each of them in particular having one definite and determinate Measure and Limit of its Substance and Matter, no Part thereof will be without Order and good Disposition, nothing will remain superfluous, or be cast out as an Excrement. For, the Reason which belongeth to each World, being able to rule and govern the *Matter*, that is allotted thereto, will not suffer any thing to run out of Course and Order, and rencounter and jumble another World; nor likewise, that any thing from another should jostle or disturb it, there being nothing in Nature Infinite and Inordinate in Quantity, nor in Motion without Reason and Order. And if perhaps there be any Influence that passes from the one to the other, this is a Fraternal Communication, whereby they mix themselves together, like the Light of the Stars, and the Influence of their Temperatures, which are the Cause that they themselves do rejoyce in beholding one another with a benign Aspect, and give to the *Gods* (who are Good and many in Number in every Star) an Opportunity of knowing and caressing one another: For there's nothing in all this that is impossible, or fabulous, or contrary to Reason, though some may think so, because of the Opinion of *Aristotle*, who saith, That all Bodies have their proper and natural Places, by which means the Earth must on all sides tend to the Midst, and the Water upon it, serving by its Weight, for a Foundation to the other lighter Elements. Were there then Many Worlds, the Earth would be often found to be situated above the Airy and Fiery Regions,
and

and as often under them, sometimes in their natural Places, and sometimes in others which are contrary to their Natures; which things being impossible (as he thinks) it follows then, there are neither Two, nor more Worlds, but One only, which is this here, consisting of all Kinds of Elements, disposed according to Nature, agreeable to the diversity of Bodies. But in all this there is more probability than Truth; for consider, Friend *Demetrius*, that when he saith among simple Bodies, some tend towards the Midst, which is to say, downwards, the others from the Midst, that is, upward, and a Third sort move round about the Midst; what does he mean by the Midst? this cannot be in respect of a *Vacuum*, there being no such thing in Nature, as he says himself: And moreover, those that do allow it, say, that it can have no Middle, no more then Beginning and End; for Beginning and End are Extremities; but that which is Infinite, every Body knows is without an End. But supposing we should be necessitated to admit a Middle in a *Vacuum*, it is impossible to comprehend and imagine the different Motions of Bodies towards it, because there is neither in this *Vacuum* any Power attractive of the Body, nor in the Bodies any Inclination or Affection to tend on all Sides to this Middle: And it is no less difficult to imagine, that Bodies can move of themselves towards an Incorporeal Place, or receive any Motion from it. This Middle then must be understood not locally, but corporeally: for this World being a Mass and Union consisting of different Bodies joyned together; this Diversity of them must beget different Motions from one another; which appears, in that each of these Bodies changing its Substance, does at the same time change its Place: For the Subtilization and Rarefaction dissipates the Matter, which springeth from the Midst, and ariseth upwards: whereas on the contrary, the Condensation

and Constipation depresses and drives it down towards the middle, on which 'tis not necessary to discourse any longer in this Place ; for whatever Cause a Man supposes shall produce such Passions and Changes, that very Cause will contain each of these Worlds in it self, because each of them has its Sea and Land, each its proper Middle, and each its Passions and Change of Bodies, and the Nature and Power, which contains and preserves each in its Place and Being. For that which is without, whether it be nothing at all, or an Infinite *Vacuum*, cannot allow any Middle, as we have already said. But there being several Worlds, each has its proper Middle apart ; so that in each of them there will be Motions proper to Bodies, some tending down to the midst, others mounting aloft from the midst, others moving round about it, according as they themselves do distinguish Motions. And he who asserts there are many middles, and that heavy Bodies from all sides do tend unto one alone, is like to him who shall affirm, That the blood of several Men runs from all parts into one Vein ; or that all their Brains should be contained within one and the same Membrane ; supposing it absurd, that all natural bodies which are solid, should not be in one Place, and the rare in another. He that thus thinketh, is certainly a mean *Philosopher* ; and no better is he who will not allow the whole to have all Parts in their Order, Rank and natural Situation. What could be more foolish, than for a Man to imagine a World which had a Moon within it, situated beneath ; just as if a Man should have his Brains where his Heels are, and his Heart in his Forehead ? Whereas, there's no Absurdity or Inconveniency, if in supposing several distinct Worlds, separated from one another, a Man should distinguish and separate their Parts. For in each of them, the Earth, Sea and Sky, will be placed and situated in their

their proper Places ; and each of these Worlds may have its Superior, Inferior, Circular and Middle Part ; not in respect of another World, nor in reference to what is without, but what is within it self. And as to the Argument which some do draw from a stone being placed without the World, it neither proves Rest nor Motion ; for how could it remain suspended, seeing it is by Nature heavy, or move towards the Midst of the World as other ponderous Bodies, seeing it is neither part of it, nor like it ? And as to that Earth which is fix'd and environed by another World, we must not wonder, considering it's Weightiness, if it does not drop down, seeing it is upheld by a certain natural Force pertaining to it. For if we shall take high and low, not within the World, but without, we shall find our selves involved in the same Difficulties as *Epicurus* was, when he made his little Indivisible *Atoms* to move and tend to those Places which are under foot, as if the *Vacuum* had Feet, or that its Infinite Space would permit one to talk of high or low. Indeed a Man would marvel what should cause *Chrysippus* to say, That the World was placed and situated directly in the Midst ; and that the Matter thereof from all Eternity, having possessed it self of the Midst, yet is so compacted together, that it remains for ever : For he writes this in his Fourth Book of *Possible Things* ; vainly imagining, there's a Middle in that vast Emptiness : And still more absurdly attributing unto that Middle, which is not the Cause of the Worlds Stability and Continuance ; he having often said in other Writings of his, That the Substance is upheld and governed by the Motions tending to the Midst, and partly by others parting from the Midst of it. As to the other Oppositions which the *Stoics* make, who should fear them ! as when they demand, how 'tis possible to maintain a *Fatal Destiny* ? a *Divine Providence* ? and how it can be otherwise but that we

must admit of several *Jupiters*, when we assert the Plurality of Worlds. Now if there be an Inconveniency in admitting many *Jupiters*, their Opinions will appear far more absurd; For they imagine there are Suns, and Moons, *Apollos*, *Dianas* and *Neptunes*, in innumerable Changes and Revolutions of Worlds. But where is the Necessity which lies upon us, to grant, That there must be many *Jupiters*, if there be many Worlds; seeing there may be in each of them a Sovereign Governour of the Whole, indued with a suitable Mind and Ability, like to him whom we name the *Lord* and *Father* of *All Things*? or what shall hinder us from asserting, That the several Worlds be subject to the Providence, and Management of *Jupiter*, having an Eye to all Things, directing and administering to All, the Principles, the Seeds and Causes of all Things which are made. For as we often see here a Body composed of several other distinct Bodies; for Example, the Assembly of a Town, an Army, or a *Chorus*; in each of which Bodies, there's Life, Prudence and Understanding: so it is not impossible, that in the whole Universe, Ten, or Fifty, or a Hundred Worlds which may be in it, should all use the same Reason, and all correspond with the same Principle. For this Order and Disposition is very suitable to the *Gods*; for we must not make them Kings of a Swarm of Bees, who never stir out of their Hives; or keep them fast imprisoned in Matter, like those who affirm the *Gods* to be certain Dispositions of the Air, and Powers of Waters and Fire, infused and mixed within, which arise and spring up together with the World, and to be burnt in Time, and end with it, not affording them the Liberty of Coach-men and Pilots, but nailing them down to their *Bases*, like Statues and Images; for they inclose the *Gods* within Matter, and that in so strict a Manner, as makes them liable to all the Changes, Alterations and Decays of it.

It

It is certainly more agreeable to the Nature of the *Gods*, to say that they are Wholly at liberty, like *Castor* and *Pollux*, ready to succor such as are overtaken by bad Weather at Sea ; for when they appear, the Winds cease; and the Waves are calmed ; not that they Navigate; and are Partakers of the same Peril ; but only appear in the Sky, and the Danger is over. Thus do the *Gods* visit each World, and rule and provide for all things in them. *Jupiter* in *Homer*, cast not his Eyes far from the City of *Troy* into *Thracia*, and the *Nomades* or wandering *Scythians*, along the River *Ister* or the *Danube*; but the true *Jupiter* has several seemly and agreeable Passages for his Majesty from one World into another, not looking into the Infinite *Vacuum* without, nor regarding himself and nothing else, as some have imagined, but weighing the Deeds of *Gods* and Men, and the Motions and Revolutions of the Stars. For the Divinity does not hate Variety and Changes, but takes great Pleasure in them, as one may conjecture by the Circuits, Conversions and Mutations observable in the Heavens. And therefore I conclude, That the Infinite Number of Worlds is a *Chimera*, which has not the least probability of Truth, and which cannot by any means admit of One *God*, but must be wholly guided by Chance and Fortune. Whereas the Government and Providing for a certain Number, and definite Number of Worlds, has nothing in it that seems more laborious and unworthy, than that which is imploy'd and restrain'd to the Direction of One alone ; which is transformed, renewed and reformed an Infinite number of Times. Having said this, I paused, and *Philippus* immediately cryed out, Whether this be certain or not, I will not be too positive ; but, says he, if we carry *God* beyond One World, it would more gratifie me to know, why we should make him the Creator only of Five Worlds and no more, and what

Proportion this number bears to that of the Worlds, than to know why the Word *E I* was inscribed upon this Temple. For this is neither a Triangular, a Quadrate, a Perfect, nor a Cubic Number; neither does it yield any Elegancy to such as are delighted in these kind of *Sciences*. As to what concerns the Argument drawn from the number of Elements, which *Plato* seems to have touched upon, 'tis obscure and improbable, and will not afford this Consequence, That as there is formed from Matter five sorts of regular Bodies, which have equal Angles, equal Sides, and environed with equal *Superficies*; so there was from the beginning five Worlds, made and formed of these five Bodies. Yet *Theodorus* the *Solian*, reading *Plato's Mathematics* to his Scholars, does both keep to the Text, and clearly expounds it, when he saith, The *Pyramis*, *Octaedron*, *Dodecaedron*, *Icosaedron* (which *Plato* lays down as the first Bodies) are all beautiful, both in their Proportions and Equalities; Nature cannot contrive and make better than these, nor perhaps so good. Yet they have not all the same Constitution and Origin; for, the least of the five is the *Pyramis*; the greatest, which has most parts, is the *Dodecaedron*; and of the other two, the *Icosaedron* is greater by half than the *Octaedron*, if you compare their number of Triangles: And therefore 'tis impossible, they should be all made at once of one and the same Matter; for the smallest and most subtil have been certainly more pliable and formable to the Hand of the Workman, who moved and fashioned the Matter, and consequently were sooner made and shaped, than those that have more parts, and a greater Mass of Bodies, inasmuch as the Manufacture of the Composition was more laborious and difficult, as is the *Dodecaedron*, whence it follows, that the *Pyramis* was the first Body, and not one of the others, which were by Nature last produced.

Now

Now the way to avoid also this Absurdity, is to separate and divide the Matter into five Worlds; here the *Pyramis* (for she is the first and most simple) there the *Octaedron*, and there the *Isocaedron*, and out of that which exists first in every of these Resolutions, the rest draw their Original by the Concretion or Composition of Parts, by which every thing is changed into every thing, as *Plato* himself shew us by Examples throughout. For Air is ingendred by the extinction of Fire, and the same being subtilized and rarified, produceth Fire. Now by the Seeds of these two, one may find out the Passions and Transmutations of all. The Semenary or Beginnig of Fire is the *Pyramis*, consisting of twenty four first Triangles, and the *Octaedron* is the Seminary of the Air, consisting of forty eight Triangles of the same Kind. So that the one Element of Air stands upon two of Fire, joyned together and condensed: And again, one Body or Element of Air is divided into two of Fire, which becoming still more thick and hard, is changed into Water; so that throughout, that which comes first into Light, gives easily Birth unto the rest by Transmutation: And so it comes to pass that there is not only one Cause and Principle of all things, but that one thing is so near the Seed and Origin of another, in the several Changes and Alterations of Nature by Motion, that in the last Result they are all the same. But here *Ammonius* interrupted him, and said, notwithstanding that those things are so peremptorily and so pompously asserted by *Theodorus*, yet I shall wonder if he be not forced to make use of such Suppositions as are destructive of themselves, and one of another. For he will have it, that the five Worlds he speaks of, were not composed all at one time, but that that which was subtlest, and which gave least Trouble in the making, came out first into being: And as if it were a consequent, and not a repugnant thing, he supposes that

the Matter does not always drive out into Existence, that which is most subtil and simple, but that sometimes the thickest, grossest and heaviest Parts do prevent and set the heat of the more subtil in Generation. But besides this, supposing there be Five Primitive Bodies or Elements, and consequently that there be as many Worlds, there are but Four of those Orders, which he discourses rationally concerning. For as to the Cube, he takes it away and removes it, as it were in a Game of Counters; for it is naturally unfit, either to turn into any thing besides it self, or to yield that any of those other Bodies be converted into it, inasmuch as the Triangles of which they consist, be not of the same sort; for all the rest consist in common of Demy-Triangles, or Triangles of Unequal Sides; but the proper Subject of which this is particularly composed, is the Triangle *Isosceles*, or equilateral, which admitteth no Inclination unto a Demy-Triangle, nor can possibly be united and incorporated with it. If there be then Five Bodies, and consequently Five Worlds, and that in each of these Worlds the Principle of Generation be that Body, which is first produced; it must happen that where the Cube is the first in Generation, none of the rest can possibly be produced, it being contrary to its Nature to change into any of them. Not to insist here, that *Theodorus* and those of his Mind, make the Element, or Principle of which the *Dodecaedron* is composed, to be different from the rest, it not being that Triangle which is termed *Scalenon*, with Three unequal Sides, out of which the *Pyramis*, *Octaedron*, and *Isocaedron*, according to *Plato*, are produced: So that, said *Ammonius* laughing, you must solve these Objections, or offer some thing new concerning the Matter in debate; and I answered him, That, for my Part, I knew not at present how to say any thing which carried more Probability; but perhaps it is better for a Man to refine and correct his

his own Opinion than anothers; therefore I say then that there being supposed from the beginning of Things Two several Natures contrary to each other, the one Sensible, Mutable, subject to Generation, Corruption and Change every way; the other Spiritual and Intelligible, and abiding always in the same State; 'twould be very strange, my Friends, to say, That the Spiritual Nature admitteth of Division, and that it hath Diversity and Difference in it, and to be angry, if a Man will not allow the Passable and Corporeal Nature to be wholly united in it self, without dividing it into many Parts; for it is most suitable to the Permanent and Divine Natures, to be tyed and linked to each other, and to avoid, as much as is possible, all Division and Separation; and yet amongst incorporeal Natures, the Power or Vertue of one compared with another, makes greater differences than those of distance of Place, arising from several Notions and Ideas in the Intelligible World, which answer to Local Distances in the Corporeal. And therefore *Plato* refuting those who hold this Proposition, *that all is one*, asserts these Five Grounds and Principles of All; *viz.* Entirety, Identity, Diversity, Motion and Rest, which Five Immaterial Principles being admitted, 'tis no marvel, if Nature have made every one of these to be an Imitation, though not exact, yet as perfect and agreeable as could be drawn, of a correspondent Principle in the Corporeal Mystery, partaking, as much as can be, of its Power and Virtue; for 'tis very plain, That the Cube is most proper and agreeable to Repose and Rest, by reason of the Stability and Firmness of those plain Surfaces of which it consists. And as to the *Pyramis*, every Body soon sees and acknowledges the Nature of fire in it, by the slenderness of its decreasing Sides, and the sharpness of its Angles; and the Nature of the *Dodecaedron*, apt to comprehend all the other Figures, may seem more proper.

properly to be the corporeal Image of *Ens*, or Being in the general, indifferent to this or that particular Form or Shape. And of the other two which remain, the *Icosaedron* resembleth the Principle of diversity, and the *Octaedron* principally partakes of the identical Nature. And thus from one of these the Air is produced, which partakes of, and borders upon, every Substance, under one and the same outward Form and Appearance; and the other has afforded us the Element of Water, which by mixture may put on diversity of Colours, Tastes and other Qualities. Therefore if Nature requires a certain Uniformity and Harmony in all things, 'tis then that there are neither more nor fewer Worlds in the Corporeal Nature, than there are Patterns or Samples in the Incorporeal; to the end that each Pattern or Sample in the Invisible Nature, may have its Primary, Radical and Original Virtue, answering and corresponding to a Secondary or Derivative in the different Constitution or Composition of Bodies; and this may serve for an Answer to those that wonder at our dividing Nature, subject to Generation and Alteration, into so many kinds. But I intreat you all, further attentively to consider with your selves, that of the two first and supream Principles of all Things, that is to say, the Unity, and the indefinite or indetermin'd Binary or Duality; this latter being the Element and chief Origin of all Deformity and Disorder, is termed Infinity; and on the contrary, the Nature of Unity, determining and limiting the void Infinity, which has no Proportion nor Termination, reduces it into Form, and renders it in some manner capable of receiving a Denomination, which only belongs to sensible and particular things. Now these two general Principles appear first in number; for the multitude is indeed no number, but only as it is considered as a certain Form of the matter resulting out of indetermin'd Infinity, by which that
Infinity

Infinity is cut off, and bounded within respective Limits, either shorter or longer; for then each Multitude is made number, when once it is determined and limited by **Unity**, whereas if we take away **Unity**, then the Indeterminate Duality brings all into Confusion, and renders it without Harmony, without number or measure. Now the Form not being the Destruction of Matter, but rather the Order and the Beauty of it, both these Principles therefore must be within number, from whence ariseth the chief Disparity and greatest Difference. For the Infinite and Indeterminate Principle is the Cause of the Even number; and the other better Principle, which is the **Unity**, is the Father (as it were) of the odd number; so that the first even number is two, and the first odd number is three, of which is composed five by Conjunction, common to both; but of Power or Nature, it is not even, but odd. For 'twas necessary, that Nature being divided into several Parts, in order to corporeal and sensible Composition by the Power of the other, which is diversity, that it should not be either the first even number, nor yet the first uneven or odd, but a third, consisting of both; to the end it might be procreated out of both Principles, *viz.* of that which causeth the even number, and of that which produceth the odd; for the one cannot be parted from the other, in as much as both have the Nature, Power and Force of a Principle. These two Principles being then joyned together, the best of the Triad being mightier, prevails over the undeterminate Infinity or Duality, which divideth the corporal Nature, and thus the Matter being divided, the **Unity** interposing it self between, has hindered the Universe from being divided, and parted into two equal Portions, but there have been a multitude of Worlds caused by the diversity and disagreement of the indefinite Nature; but this Multitude was brought into an odd number, by the Virtue and
Power

power of Identity, or the infinite Principle, and it was therefore Odd, because the better Principle would not suffer Nature to stretch it self further than 'twas fitting; for if there had been nothing but Pure and Simple Unity, the Matter would have known no Separation, but being mixt with the dividing Nature of Duality, it has by this means received and suffered Separation and Division, yet hath stopp'd here, by the Odd Numbers being the Superior and Master to the Even; this is the Reason why the Antients were used to express Numbering or Reckoning by the very *πεντάδα*; and I am of Opinion, that that Word *πάντα*, All, is derived from *πέντε*, which is to say Five, Five being compounded of the Two first Numbers, and the other Numbers being afterwards multiplied by others, they produce Numbers different from themselves: Whereas Five being multiplied by the Dyad or Even Number, produceth a perfect Ten, and multiplied by the Triad or Odd Number, it representeth it self again: Not to insist, that it is composed of the Two first Tetragones or Quadrate Numbers, *viz.* of Unity and Four, and that being the first Number, whose terminating Unity is equivalent to the Two Dyads before it, an Unity and a Quaternion being both Tetragones, as hath been said, it composeth the fairest Triangle of those that have Right Angles, and is the first Number which containeth the Sesquialteral Proportion; For perhaps all these Reasons are not very pertinent to the Discourse of the present Dispute; it being better to alledg, that in this Number there is a natural Vertue of dividing, and that Nature divideth many things by this Number. For in our Selves she has Placed Five Sences, and Five Parts of the Soul, the Natural, the Sensitive, the Concupiscible, the Irascible, and the Rational; and as many Fingers on each Hand; and the Seed disperseth it self at most but into Five, for we read no where of a
 Woman

Woman that brought forth more then Five at a Birth : And the *Ægyptians* also tell us, That the *Goddess Rhea* was delivered of Five Gods ; giving us to understand in covert Terms, That of the same Matter were procreated Five Worlds. And in the Universe, the Earth is divided into Five Zones, the Heaven into five Circles, Two *Arcticks*, Two *Tropicks*, and One *Æquinoctial* in the Midst : That there are five Revolutions of Planets or Wandring Stars, in as much as the Sun, *Venus* and *Mercury* make but one and the same Revolution ; and the Construction of the World consists of an Harmonical Measure ; even as our Musical Chords, consist of the Positure of five Tetra-Chords, ranged orderly one after another, that is to say, of *Hypate*, *Mese*, *Synemmene*, *Diezeugmene* and *Hyperbolia*. The Pauses also which are used in Singing, are five, *Diesis*, *Semitonion*, *Tonus*, *Triemitonion* and *Ditonon* ; so that Nature seems to delight more in making all Things according to the Number of five, than she does in producing them in a *Spherical* Form, as *Aristotle* writeth. But 'twill perhaps be demanded, Why *Plato* reduced the Number of five Worlds to the five Regular Bodies or Figures ; saying, That *God* made use of the Number Five, as it were transcribing and copying that in the Fabrick of the World. And then having proposed the Doubt and Question of the Number of the Worlds, *viz.* Whether there be five, or One only ; he thereupon clearly shews, that his Conjecture is grounded on this Conceit of the Five Regular Bodies. If therefore we may allow Probability to his Opinion, then of Necessity, with the Diversity of these Figures and Bodies, there must presently ensue a Difference and Diversity of Motions, as himself teacheth, affirming, That whatever is subtilized or condensed, does at the same time, with its Alteration of Substance, alter and change its Place ; for if from the Air there is ingendred Fire, when

when the *Octaedron* is dissolved and vanished into *Pyramids*; or, on the contrary, if the Air be produced from the Fire, press'd and squeez'd up into the Form of the *Octaedron*, 'tis not possible it should remain there where it was before, but flies and runs to another Place, forcing and combating whatever stands in the Way to oppose it. And he shewsthis more clearly and evidently by an example and Similitude of Fans, and such like things as drive away the Chaff from the Corn; for thus the Elements driving the Matter, and being driven by it, do always bring like to like, some taking up this Place, others that, before the World was digested as now it is. The Matter then being in that Condition, as every thing must be, where *God* is not present; the Five First Qualities, or First Bodies, having each their proper and peculiar Inclinations and Motions, went apart, not wholly and altogether, not throughly divided and seperated one from another; for when all was hudled in Confusion, such as were surmounted, went continually against their Nature with the Mightier. And therefore some going on one side, and others going on the other, hence has hapned, that There have been as many Portions and Distinctions, as there are divers Kinds of First Bodies; one of Fire, not wholly pure, but inclining towards the form of Fire; another of a Celestial Nature, yet not wholly so, but inclining towards the Nature of Heaven; another of Earth, not simple and meer Earth, but inclining to the Form of Earth. But especially there was a Communication of Water and Air, as we have already mentioned; for these went their Ways, replenished with diverse and strange Kinds. For *God* did not separate and distribute the Matter, but having found it thus carelessly dissipated in it self, and each Part being carried away in such great Disorder and Confusion, he ranged and ordered it into Symmetry and Proportion;
and

and setting Reason over each as a Guardian and Governour, he made as many Worlds, as there were First Bodies. However, in respect to *Ammonius*, let these *Platonical* Notions pass without a severe Censure; for my part, I will never be over-zealous in this precise Number of Worlds, but this I will say, that those who hold there are more than One, yet not an Infinite Number, have as good Grounds as others; seeing the Matter does naturally spread it self, and is diffused into many Parts, not resting in one, and yet it is contrary to Reason, that it should be Infinitely extended. In short, let us here be mindful, especially of the wise Precepts of the *Academy*, and preserve our selves so far upon such slippery Ground, as the Controversie concerning the Infinity of World, by suspending our Assent. And when I had finished this Discourse, *Demetrius* said, *Lamprias* is very much in the Right; for the Gods deceive us not with Multiplicities of Shadows and Impositions (as *Euripides* expresseth it) but even of Realities and Substances themselves, when we presume to be positive, as if we understood them, in things of such weight and moment; but we must, as he advises us, return to our first Question, which we seem to have forgotten. For what was said concerning the *Oracles* remaining dumb and useless, when the *Demons*, who presided over them, were departed; even as we see *Musical* Instruments yield no Harmony when the *Musician* does not handle them; this, I say, brings a greater Question into Debate, namely touching the Cause and Power by which these *Demons* use to make their *Prophets* and *Prophetesses* to be ravish'd with *Enthusiasm* fill'd with Fantastical Imagination. For to say, the *Oracles* are silent, as being forsaken by the *Demons*; is nothing unless we be first shew'd, how (when they are present and govern them) they set them at work and make them Prophecy. *Ammonius* then taking up the Discourse, Do you think, said he, that the *Demons* be any thing else, Than

Than wandring Spirits cloath'd in finest Air,

as *Hesiod* says ; for as to my part, I think the same difference which there is between one Man and another, who act in a Tragedy or Comedy, is also to be found in this Life in Souls that are cloath'd with Bodies. So that there's nothing in this which is strange or contrary to Reason. If Souls meeting with other Souls do Imprint on them Visions and Apprehensions of future things ; just as we shew several things already done and come to pass, and Prognosticate of those which have not yet happened, not only by the help of Speech, but also by Letters and writings, or by a bare Touch, or a single Look, unless you, *Lamprias*, are of another Opinion : For we heard but very lately, that you discoursed at large upon this Subject with the Strangers that came lately to *Lebadia*, but he that gave us this Information could give us no particular Account of what passed. No wonder, replied I, for several avocations and businesses intervening, occasioned by the Oracle, and the solemn Sacrifice that was then performing, made our Discourse very broken and interrupted. But now, says *Ammonius*, you have Auditors at Leisure, that are inquisitive and desirous of Instruction, so that you may speak freely, and expect all the Candor and Ingenuity which you can desire. And the rest of the Company making the like Exhortations, having paused a while, I began after this manner ; It so happened, *Ammonius*, that you did without your knowledg give occasion to the Discourse which was then held ; for if the Demons be Souls and Spirits separated from Bodies, and have no Communication with them, as you affirm ; but according to the Divine Poet *Hesiod*,

Are our kind Guardians, walking here their Rounds ;

why

Why do we deprive the Spirits and Souls which are in Bodies, of the same power by which *Demons* may foresee and foretel Things to come? For 'tis not likely Souls do acquire any new Property and Power when they abandon the Bodies, wherewith they were not endowed before; but rather, we should think that they had always the same Parts, but worse, when they are mixt with Bodies: some of them being inapparent and hid, and others weak and obscure, and which, like those who see through a thick Mist, or move in some moist and waterish Substance, do heavily and uneasily perform their Operations, much desiring to be cured, and so recover what is their own, and to be discharged and purified of that which covers them. For, the Soul, whilst 'tis fastned to the Body, has the power of discerning future Things, were it not blinded by the Relation it has to the Earthiness of the Body. For, as the Sun does not then properly become bright, when he has escaped out of the Cloud (for he is always so, though to our Eyes, being clouded, he seems obscure and dark.) So the Soul acquires not then the Faculty of Divining, when gotten clear of the Body, as from a Cloud, but having the same before, is blinded by the Commixture and Confusion which she has with the Mortal Body: And this cannot seem strange or incredible, if we consider nothing else in the Soul, but the Faculty of Remembrance, which is, as it were, the reverse of Divination, and if we reflect upon the miraculous power it hath of preserving Things past, or rather of making those Things to exist which are not; for of what is past there is nothing remains, and all things do exist and perish in the same Moment, whether they be Actions, or Words, or Passions; they all pass by and vanish as soon as they appear; for Time, like the Course of a River, passeth on, and carries every thing along with it. But this Retentive Faculty

of the Soul resisting, and, as it were, making Head against it, gives a Being to those Things which are not present. For the Oracle which was given to those of *Theffaly*, touching *Arna*, enjoyned them to call her

The Deaf Man's Hearing, and the Blind Man's Sight.

But Memory is to us the Hearing of the Deaf, and the Sight of the Blind; so that as I now said, no marvel, if retaining the Things which are no longer in Being, the Soul anticipates several of those which are still to come; for these do more concern her, and she does naturally sympathize with them, inclining and tending to things which are future; whereas, as to those which are past, and have an end, she leaves them behind her, only retaining the bare Remembrance of them. Our Souls then having this imbred Power, tho' weak, obscure and hardly able to express their Apprehensions; yet sometimes they spread forth and recover themselves, either in Dreams, or in the time of Sacrifice or Religious Worship, when the Body is well purified, and is endued with a certain Temperature proper to this Effect; or when the Rational or Speculative Part being released and freed from the Solitude after present Things, joyneth with the Irrational and Imaginative Part, to think of, and represent what's to come; for it is not, as *Euripides* saith, that he is the best Prophet who guesses well; but he's the wisest Man, not whose Guess succeeds well in the Event, but who, whatever the Event be, takes Reason and Probability for his Guide. Now the Faculty of Divining, like blank Paper, is void of any Reason, or Determination of it self, but is susceptible of Fantasies and Præ-sentions, and without any Ratiocination or Discourse of Reason, touches on that which is to come, when it is farthest off from the Present, out of which it departs, by means of a certain Disposition

Disposition of Body, which we call Inspiration or *Enthusiasm*. Now the Body is sometimes endued naturally with this Disposition; but most times the Earth casts forth to Men the Sources and Causes of several other Powers and Faculties, some of which carry Men besides themselves into Extacy and Phrenzy, and produce Maladies and Mortalities; others again are sometimes good, gentle and profitable, as appears by those who have had the Experience of them. But this Spring or Wind, or Spirit of Divination, is most Holy and Divine, whether it be raised by it self through the Air, or be compounded and mixt with a watry or liquid Substance. For, being infused and mixed with the Body, it produceth an odd Temperature and strange Disposition in the Soul, which a Man cannot exactly express, tho' he may resemble or compare it to several things; for by Heat and Dilatation it openeth certain Pores that make a discovery of future things; like Wine, which causing Fumes to ascend up into the Head, puts the Spirits into many unusual Motions, and reveals things that were laid up in secret; for Drunkenness and Phrenzy, if we will believe *Euripides*, have a near Approach to the Nature of Divination, when the Soul being hot and fiery, banishes those Fears, to which Prudence and Sobriety are subject, and which extinguish and quench the Spirit of Divination. Furthermore, a Man may say, that Dryness being mixt with Heat, attenuateth and subtilizeth the Spirit, and makes it pure, and of an Etherial Nature and Consistence; for the Soul it self, according to *Heraclitus*, is of a dry Constitution; whereas Moisture does not only dim the Sight, and dull the Hearing, but when mingled with the Air, and touching the *Superficies* of Mirrors, dusketh the Brightness of the One, and takes away the Light of the Other. Or perhaps on the contrary, by some Refrigeration and Condensation of this Spirit,

like the Tincture and Hardness of Iron; this Part of the Soul which does prognosticate, may shew it self, and get a perfect Edge. Just as Tin being melted with Brass (which of it self is a Metal in the Oar, rare, spongy and full of little Holes) does drive it nearer and make it more massy and solid, and withal, causeth it to look more bright and resplendent; so I cannot see any Reason, why this Prophetical Exhalation having some Congruence and Affinity with Souls, may not fill up that which is lax and empty, and drive it more close together. For there are many things which have a Reference and Congruity one with another, as the Bean, which is agreeable to the Colour of Purple; Sal-Nitre is very useful in the Tincture of Scarlet or Crimson Colour, if it be mixt therewith, and, as *Empedocles* says,

Fine Silk is dy'd with Saffron's azure Flow'r.

And we have learnt of you, *Demetrius*, that only the River *Cydnus* cleaneth the Knife consecrated to *Apollo*, in the City of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, and that there's no other Water which can scour and cleanse it. So in the Town of *Olympia*, they temper Ashes with the Water of the River *Alpheus*, with which they make a Mortar, wherewith they plaister the Altar there; but if this be attempted to be done by the Water of any other River, it is all to no purpose. 'Tis no wonder then, if the Earth sending up many Exhalations, only those of this sort transport the Soul with a Divine Fury, and give them a Faculty of foretelling future Things. And without doubt, what it is related touching the Oracle of this Place, does herewith agree. For 'tis here where this Faculty of Divining first shew'd it self, by means of a certain Shepherd, who chanced to fall down,

and began to utter Enthusiastick Speeches concerning future Events; of which, at first the Neighbours took no notice; but when they saw what he foretold came to pass, they had him in Admiration; and the most learned among the *Delphians*, speaking of this Man, are used to call him by the Name of *Coretas*. The Soul seems to me to mix and joyn it self with this *Prophetick* Exhalation, just as the Eye is affected with the Light: For, the Eye which has a natural Property and Faculty of Seeing, would be wholly useles without the Light; so the Soul having this Faculty and Property of Fore-seeing future things, as an Eye, has need of a proper Object, which may enlighten and sharpen it. And therefore the Ancients took the *Sun* and *Apollo* to be the same God; and those who understand the Beauty and Wisdom of Analogy or Proportion, do tell us, that as the Body is to the Soul, the Sight to the Mind, the Soul to Truth, so is the *Sun* with Reference to *Apollo*; affirming him to be the Off-spring, proceeding perpetually from *Apollo*, and representing him perpetually to the World. For as the Sun enlightens and excites the Visive Powers of the Senses, so *Apollo* does excite the *Prophetick* Vertue in the Soul. Those then that imagined 'twas one and the same God, have with good Reason, dedicated and consecrated this Oracle to *Apollo* and to the Earth, deeming it to be the Sun which imprinted this Temperature and Disposition on the Earth, from whence arose this Predictive Exhalation. For as *Hesiod*, with far better Reason than other *Philosophers* calls the Earth,

The well fixt Seat of all Things: —

So do we esteem it Eternal, Immortal and Incorruptible. But as to the Vertues and Faculties which are in it, we believe that some sail in one Place, and spring up

anew in another. It seems also (for so some Experiments incline us to conjecture) that these Transitions, Changes and Revolutions, in process of Time, do circulate and return to the same Place and begin again where they left off. In some Countries we see Lakes and Whole Rivers, and not a few Fountains and Springs of hot Waters, have sometimes failed and been intirely lost, and at others, have fled and absconded themselves, being hidden and concealed under the Earth; but perhaps some years after do appear again in the same Place, or else run hard by. And so of Metal-Mines, some have been quite exhausted, as the Silver ones about *Attica*; and the same has happened to the Veins of Brass-Oar in *Eubœa*, of which the best Blades were made, and hardened in cold Water, as the Poet *Æschylus* tells us,

Taking his Sword, a right Eubœan Blade.

It is not long since the Quarry of *Carystus* has ceased to yield a certain soft Stone, which was wont to be drawn into a fine Thread; for I suppose some here have seen Towels, Net-work and Quoifs woven of that Thread, which could not be burnt; but when they were soild with using, People flung them into the Fire, and took them thence white and clean, the Fire only purifying them. But all this is vanish'd, and there's nothing but some few Fibres or hairy Threads lying up and down scatteringly in the Grain of the Stones, to be seen now in the Quarry. *Aristotle* and his Followers affirm, That the Cause of all this proceeds from an Exhalation within the Earth, which when it fails, or removes to another Place, or revives and recovers it self again, the *Phænomena* proceeding from them do so too. The same must we say of the Prophetical Exhalations which spring from the Earth, that

that their Virtue also is not Immortal, but may wax old and decay; for 'tis not unlikely, that great Floods of Rain and Showrs do extinguish them, and that the Claps of Thunder do dissipate them; or else, which I look upon to be the Principal Cause, they are sunk lower into the Earth, or utterly destroyed by the Shock of Earth-quakes, and the Confusion that attends them, as here in this Place there still remain the Tragical Monuments of that great Earthquake, that overthrew the City. And in the Town of *Orchomenus*, they say, that when the Pestilence carried away such Multitudes of People, the Oracle of *Tiresias* of a sudden ceased, and remains mute to this day. And whether the like has not happened to the Oracles in *Cilicia*, as we have heard it hath, no Man can better inform us than you, *Demetrius*. I cannot tell, says *Demetrius*, how things are at present in those Parts, for you all know I have been long absent from thence; but when I was there, both that of *Mopsus* and of *Amphilochus* flourished, and were in great Esteem. And as to the Oracle of *Mopsus*, I can from my own Knowledge tell you a strange Story went about it. The Governour of *Cilicia* was a Man Inclining to *Scepticism*, and doubtful whether there be Gods; and had about him several *Epicureans*, who are wont to mock at the Beleif of such Things, as seem contrary to Reason. He sent a freed Servant of his in the Nature of a Spy, with a Letter seal'd, wherein was the Question he was to ask the Oracle, no Body knowing the Contents thereof. This Man then, as the Custom of the Place is, remaining all Night in the Temple-Porch asleep, related the next Morning the Dream which he had; for he thought he saw a very handsom Man stand before him, who said only this Word, *Black*. to him, and nothing else, for he vanish'd away immediately. This seemed to us very impertinent, though we could not tell what to make of it; but the Gover-

nour marvelled at it, and was so nettled with it, that he had the *Oracle* in great Veneration ever since; for, opening the Letter, he shew'd this Question which was therein; *Shall I sacrifice to thee a White Bull or a Black?* which dash'd his *Epicureans* quite out of Countenance, and he offered the Sacrifice required, and to the Day of his Death continued a devout Admirer of *Mopsus*.

When *Demetrius* had given us this Relation, he held his Peace; and I being desirous to put an end to this Conference, cast mine Eyes on *Philippus* and *Ammonius*, who sat together, and they, I thought, look'd as if they had something to say to me, and therefore I kept silent. With that *Ammonius*, *Philippus*, says he, *Lamprias* hath something to offer touching what hath been debated, for he thinks, as well as other Folks, That *Apollo* and the *Sun* are the same God; but the Question which I propose is of greater Consequence; for just now in our Discourse, we have taken away Divination from the Gods, and openly attributed it to the Demons, and now we are for excluding of them also, and dispossessing them of the *Oracle* and *Three-footed-Stool*, referring the Cause, or rather the Nature and Essence of Divination to Exhalations, Winds and Vapors; for these Opinions carry us still farther off from the Gods, introducing such a Cause of this Event, as *Euripides* makes *Polyphemus* to alledge in his Tragedy of *Cyclops*;

*The Earth by force, whether she will or no,
Shall for my Cattle make the Grass to grow.*

Yet he does not say that he sacrificed his Herds to the Gods, but to himself and his own Belly, the greatest of all Demons; whereas we offer them Sacrifices and Prayers for to obtain an Answer from their
Oracles;

Oracles ; but to what purpose, if it be true, that Souls are naturally endued with the Faculty of Prediction, and that the chief Cause that excites this Faculty and Vertue, is a certain Temperature of Air or Wind; and what signifies then the sacred Institutions and setting apart these Religious *Propheteesses*, for the giving of Answers? And why do they return no Answer at all, unless the Sacrifice tremble all over, even from the very Feet, whilst the Wine is poured on its Head? For 'tis not enough to wag the Head, as other Beasts do, which are appointed for Sacrifices ; but this quaking and shivering must be universal, throughout all Parts of the Body, and that with a trembling Noise ; for if this be not done, they say that the *Oracle* will give no Answer, neither is the *Pythia* or Priestess introduced. For, it is very proper and suitable for them to do and believe thus, who ascribe the impulses of Prophetical Inspiration either to God or a *Demon* ; but by no means for those that are of your Opinion. For the Exhalation which springeth out of the Ground, whether the Beast tremble or not, will always, if it be present, cause a Ravishment and Transport of Spirit, and dispose the Soul alike, not only of *Pythia*, but of any one else that first cometh, or is presented. And it must needs seem absurd to set apart one certain Woman for the delivery of these *Oracles*, and to oblige her to Virginity and Chastity all her days, when the thing is referred to such a Cause, as in which all People are, or may be, equally concerned. For as to that *Coretas*, whom the *Delphians* will needs have to be the first that hapned to fall into this Chink or Crevasse of the Ground, and gave the first Proof of the Vertue of the Place ; he, I say, seems to me not at all to differ from other Herdsmen or Shepherds, supposing what is reported of him to be true, as I believe it is not. And truly, when I call

call to mind of what Benefit this Oracle has bin unto the *Greeks*, not only in their Wars, and building of Cities, but also in the Stresses of Plague and Famine; methinks it is very unfit to refer its Invention and Original unto meer Chance, rather than to God and Divine Providence. But I would willingly have you, *Lamprias*, says he, to speak on this Point, and I pray you, *Philippus*, to have Patience awhile. With all my heart, reply'd *Philippus*, and I dare undertake the same for all the Company. And, as to my Part, quoth I, Oh *Philippus*! I am not only much mov'd, but also ashamed, considering my Youth, in the Presence of so many wise and grave Personages, to appear as if I endeavour'd by Sophistry to impose upon them, and to destroy and evacuate what Sage Men have determined concerning the Divine Nature and Power; but though I am Young, yet *Plato* was Old and Wise as you are, and he shall be my Example and Advocate in this Case, who reprehended *Anaxagoras* for applying himself too much to Natural Causes, always following and pursuing the Necessary and Material Cause of the Passions and Affections incident to Bodies, and omitting the Final and Efficient, which are much better and more considerable Principles than the other; but *Plato* either first, or most of all the Philosophers, hath joyned both of these principles together, attributing to God, the Causality of all Things that are according to Reason, and yet not depriving Matter of a Necessary or Passive Concurrence; but acknowledging, that the adorning and disposing of all this sensible World, does not depend on one single and simple Cause; but took its being from the Conjunction and Fellowship of Matter with Reason, which may be illustrated by the Works of Art: As for Example, without going any further, the Foot of the famous Cup which is amongst the Treasury of this Temple, which *Herodotus* calls *Hypocrateridion*, that
has

has for the material Cause Fire and Iron, and pliability by means of Fire, and the Tincture in Water, without which, such a piece of Work could not be wrought. But the principal Cause, and that which is most properly so called, which wrought by all these, was Art and Reason. And we see the Name of the Artist set on such their *Pieces*, according to that,

*'Twas Thasian, Polignote, Agalaphon's Son,
That drew this Drought of conquer'd Illium :*

But yet without Colours mixt and confounded with one another, it had been impossible to have done a *Piece* so pleasing to the Eye. Should one come then and inquire into the material Cause, searching into, and discoursing concerning the Alterations and Mutations which the Ochre receives mixt with the Vermilion, or the Black with the Ceruss; does he thereby lessen the Credit of the Painter *Polignotus*? And so he that shall discourse how Iron is both hardned and mollified, and how being softned in the Fire, it becomes obedient to them, who by beating it, drive it out in Length and Breadth, and afterwards being plung'd into fresh Water, by the coldness of it, becomes hardned after it was softned and rarified by the Fire, and acquires a firmness and Temper, which *Homer* calls the Strength of the Iron: does he, because of this, e're the less attribute the Cause of the Work to the Work-man? I do not think he does, for those who examin the Vertues and Properties of medicinal Drugs, do not thereby condemn the Art of Physick. Just as *Plato*, when he says, that we see because the Light of the Eye is mixed with the clearness of the Sun, and that we hear by the percussion of the Air; yet this does not hinder, but that we have the faculty of Seeing and Hearing from Divine Providence. In a Word, Generation, as I have said, proceeding

ceeding from Two Causes, the cheifest and most ancient *Poets* and *Divines* have stuck only to the *First* and *most Excellent* of these, having on all *Occasions* these known *Words* in their *Mouths*,

Jove, the Beginning, Middle, Source of all.

But as to the *Necessary* and *Natural Causes*, they concern not themselves with them. Whereas their Successors, who were for that reason called *φυσικοί*, or *Natural Philosophers*, took a different Course; for they forsaking this Admirable and Divine Principle, ascribe all Matter, and the Passions of it, to the Motions, Mutations and Mixtures of its Parts. So that both of these are defective in their Methods, because they omit, through Ignorance or Design, the one the Efficient, the others the Material Cause. Whereas, he that first pointed at both Causes, and manifestly joyned with the *Reason* which freely operateth and moveth the *Matter*, which necessarily is Obedient and Passive, does defend both himself and us from all Calumny and Censure. For we do not deprive Divination either of *God* or of *Reason*; seeing we allow it for its Subject, the Soul of Man, and for its Instrument, an *Enthusiastic Exhalation*. For first, the Earth, out of which Exhalations are generated, and then the Sun, which in and upon the Earth works all the Infinite Possibilities of Mixture and Alteration, are, in the Divinity of our Fore-Fathers, esteemed *Gods*. And hereunto if we add the *Demons* as Superintendants and Guardians of this Temperature, as of an *Harmony* and Consort, who in due time slacken or stretch the Vertue of this Exhalation; sometimes taking from it the too great Activity which it has to torment the Soul, and transport it beyond it self, and mingling with it a Vertue of moving, without causing Pain to those that are possessed with it; in all this, it seems to me, that

we

we do nothing that can look strange or impossible, or unagreeable to Reason; and when we offer Sacrifices before we come to the *Oracle*, and crown them with Garlands of Flowers, and pour Wine on their Heads, I see we do not any thing in all this that is absurd or repugnant to this Opinion of ours. For, the *Priests* who offer the Sacrifices, and pour out the Holy Wine thereon, and observe their Motions and Tremblings, do this for another reason, besides that of receiving an Answer from the *Oracle*. For the Animal which is offered to the *Gods*, must be pure, intire and sound, both as to Soul and Body. Now 'tis not very hard to discover the Marks of the Body; and as to the Soul, they make an Experiment of it, in setting Meal before the Bulls, and presenting Pease to the Swine; for if they will not taste them, 'tis a certain Sign they be not sound. As to Goats, cold Water is a Tryal for them; for if the Beast does not seem to be moved and affected when the Water is poured upon her, this is an evident Sign that her Soul is not right according to Nature. And supposing it should be granted, That 'tis a certain and unquestionable Design, that God will give an Answer, when the Sacrifice thus drenched stirs, and that when it is otherwise, he vouchsafes none; I do not see herein any thing that disagrees with the Account of *Oracles*, which I have given. For every natural Vertue produceth the Effect, be it better or worse, to which it is ordained, according as its Season is more or less proper; and 'tis likely God gives us Signs whereby we may know, Whether the Opportunity be gone or not. As for my Part, I believe the Exhalation it self, which comes out of the Ground, is not always of the same Kind, being at one time slack, and at another strong and vigorous; and the Truth of that Experiment, which I use to prove it, is attested by several Strangers, and by all those which serve in the Temple.

For

For the Room where those do wait who come for Answers from the *Oracle*, is sometimes, though not often, and at certain stated times, but as it were by Chance, filled with such a fragrant Odour and Scent, that no Perfumes in the World can exceed it, and this arises, as it were, out of a Spring, from the Sanctuary of the Temple. And this proceeds very likely from its Heat, or some other Power or Faculty which is in it; and if peradventure this seems to any Body an unlikely thing, however such a one will allow, that the Prophetess *Pythia* hath that part of the Soul, unto which this Wind and Blast of Inspiration approacheth, moved by variety of Passions and Affections, sometimes after one sort, and sometimes another; and that she is not always in the same Mood and Temper, like a fixt and immutable Harmony, which the least Alteration or Change of such and such Proportions destroys. For there are several Vexations and Passions which agitate Bodies, and slide into the Soul, that she perceives, but more that she does not, in which case 'twould be better, that she would tarry away, and not present her self to this Divine Inspiration, as not being clean, and void of all Perturbations, like an Instrument of Music exquisitely made, but at present in disorder and out of Tune. For Wine does not at all times alike surprise the Drunkard, neither does the Sound of the Flute always affect in the same manner, him who dances to it. For the same Persons are sometimes more, and sometimes less transported beyond themselves, and more or less inebriated, according to the present Disposition of their Bodies; but especially the *Imaginative* Part of the Soul, which receives the *Species*, is subject to change and sympathise together with the Body, as is apparent from Dreams; for sometimes we are mightily troubled with many and confused Visions in our Dreams, and at other times, there is a perfect Calm, undisturbed by any such Images or Ideas.

We

We all know *Cleon* a Native of *Daulia*, who used to say of himself, that in the many years in which he hath lived, he never had any Dream. And among the *Ancients*, the same is related of *Thrasymedes* of *Harea*, the Cause of which, lyes in the Complexion and Constitution of Bodies, as is seen by melancholy People, who are much subject to Dreams in the Night, and their Dreams sometimes prove true. Inasmuch as such Persons Fancies run sometimes on one thing, and otherwhiles on another, they must thereby of necessity now and then light right, as they that shoot often must hit sometimes. When therefore the *Imaginative* Part of the Soul, and the Prophetic Blast or Exhalation have a sort of Harmony and Proportion with each other, so as the one, as it were in the Nature of a Medicament, may operate upon the other; then happens that Enthusiasm or Divine Fury, which is discernable in Prophets and Inspired Persons. And on the contrary, when the Proportion is lost, there can be no Prophetical Inspiration, or such as is as good as none; for then 'tis a forced Fury, not a natural one, but violent and turbulent, as we have seen to have happened in the Prophetess *Pythia*, who is lately deceased. For certain Pilgrims being come for an Answer from the *Oracle*, 'tis said the Sacrifice indured the first Effusion without stirring or moving a Jot, which made the *Priests*, out of an Excess of Zeal, to continue to pour on more, till the Beast was almost drowned with cold Water; but what hapned hereupon to the Prophetess *Pythia*? She went down into the *Hole* against her Will, but at the first Words which she uttered, she plainly shewed by the hoarseness of her Voice, that she was not able to bear up again so strong an Inspiration (like a Ship under Sail, oppressed with too much Wind) but was possist with a dumb and evil Spirit; and finally, being horribly disordered, and runing with dreadful Screeches towards the Door to get out, she threw her self violently on
the

the Ground, so that not only the *Pilgrims* fled for fear, but also the High Priest *Nicander*, and the other *Priests* and *Religions* which were there present ; who entring within a while, took her up, being out of her Senses ; and indeed she lived but few days alter. For these reasons it is, that *Pythia* is obliged to keep her Body pure and clean from the Company of Men, there being no Stranger permitted to converse with her. And before she goes to the *Oracle*, they are used by certain Marks, to examine whether she be fit or no, believing that the God certainly knows when her Body is disposed and fit to receive, without endangering her Person, this Enthusiastical Inspiration. For, the Force and Vertue of this Exhalation, does not move all sorts of Persons, nor the same Persons in like manner, nor as much at one time as at another ; but only gives beginning, and, as it were, kindles those Spirits which are prepared and fitted to receive its Influence. Now this Exhalation is certainly Divine and Cœlestial, but yet not Incorruptible and Immortal, and Proof against the *Series* of Time, which subdues all Things below the Moon, and, as some say, all Things above it ; which growing weary in an infinite Space of Duration, are suddenly renewed and changed. But these things, said I, I must advise you and my self often and seriously to consider of, they being liable to many Disputes and Objections, which our Leisure will not suffer to particularize ; and therefore we must remit them, together with the Questions which *Philippus* proposes, touching *Apollo* and the *Sun*, to another Opportunity.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals :

Vol. IV.

Of Isis and Osiris, or of the Antient Religion and Philosophy of Ægypt.

Done into English out of the Greek by William Baxter, Philalethes.

IT becomes wise Men, *a* Dame *Clea*, *a* This *Clea* to go to the Gods for all the good *was Priestess* Things they would enjoy : much *to Isis and to Apollo Delphi.* more ought we, when we would aim *cus.* at that Knowledge of them, which our Nature can arrive at, to pray that they themselves would bestow it upon us : Truth being the greatest Good that Man can receive, and the goodliest Blessing that God can give. Other good Things he bestows on Men as they want them ; they being *b* not his own Peculiars, nor of any *b Paulus Petrus* use to himself. For the Blessedness of the *vius*, his Deity consists not in Silver and Gold, nor *py* hath *but* yet his Power in Lightnings and Thunders, before *is* but in Knowledge and Wisdom. And it *was* *was* the best thing *Homer* ever said of Gods, when he pronounced thus ;

t Both of one Line, both of one Country boast, c Jupiter and But Royal Jove's the Eldest and knows most. Neptune.

F

Where

Where he declares *Jupiter's* Prerogative in Wisdom and Science, to be the more honourable, by terming it the Elder. I, for my own Part, do believe that the Felicity of Eternal Living, which the Gods enjoy, lyes mainly in this, that nothing escapes their Cognisance that passes in the Sphere of Generation; and that should we set aside Wisdom and the Knowledge of Beings, Immortality it self would not be Life, but a long Time. And therefore the Desire of Truth, especially in what relates to the Gods, is a sort of grasping after Divinity, it using Learning and Enquiry for a kind of *a* Resumption of Things Sacred, *a* Work doubtless of more Religion than any Ritual Purgation or Change of Temples whatever, and over and above, not the least acceptable to the Goddess you serve, since she is more eminently Wise and Speculative, and since Knowledge and Science (as her very Name *b* seems to import) appertain more peculiarly to her than any other thing. For the Name of *Isis* is *Greek*, and so is that of her Adversary *Typhon*, who being puffed up through Ignorance and Mistake, pulls in pieces and destroys that Holy Doctrine, which she on the contrary collects, compiles, and delivers down to such as are regularly advanced unto the *c* *Deify'd* State; which by Constancy of sober Diet, and abstaining from sundry Meats, and the Use of Women both *d* restrains the Intemperate and Voluptuous Part, and habituates them to austere and hard Services in the Temples, the

a This supposes the Platonic Reminiscence.

b The Etymologies of *Isis* from *knowing*, and of *Typhon* from *Arrogance*, are but Moral and Allusive ones.

c Οσιώσις.

d I read κα-
λυψις for
καλυψις.

the end of which is the Knowledge of the Original, Supream and Mental Being; which the Goddesses would have them enquire for, as near to her self, and as dwelling with her. Besides, the very Name of her Temple most apparently promises the Knowledge and Acquaintance of the *a* First Being; for they call it *Ision*, as *a* $\tau\epsilon\ \delta\iota\sigma\iota$: who should say, *b* *We shall know the Being*, *b* I read $\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\nu$ for $\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\omega\nu$. if with Reason and Sanctimony we approach the Sacred Temples of this Goddess. Moreover, many have reported her the Daughter of *c* *Hermes*, and many of *Prometheus*; the latter of which they esteem as the Author of Wit and Forecast, and the Former of Letters and Musick. *c* Both these were but Epithites of the *Sun*. For the same reason also they call the Former of the two *Muses* *d* at *Hermopolis*, *Isis* and *Justice*, *e* she being (as we before said) no other than *Wisdom*, and revealing Things Divine to such as are truly and justly stiled *f* *The Sacred Bearers*, *g* and *The Sacred Robe*; and those are such as have in their Minds, as in an *Ark* (or *h* *Cabinet*) *d* Here I insert $\epsilon\nu$. *e* I add $\kappa\alpha\iota$ after $\sigma\alpha\tau\iota\alpha\nu$. *f* $\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota$. *g* $\epsilon\iota\sigma\sigma\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota$. *h* $\kappa\iota\sigma\eta$. the Sacred Doctrine about the Gods, cleansed from Superstitious Frights, and Vain Curiosities, and are Clad partly with dark and shady Colours, and partly with light and gay ones, to insinuate something of the like kind in our Perswasion about the Gods, as we have represented to us in the sacred Vestments. Wherefore, in that the Priests of *Isis* are dressed up in these when they are dead, it is a Token to us, that this Doctrine *i* goes with them to the *i* I read $\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$ other Life, and that nothing else can ac- for $\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$.

a The Ram being sacred to the Sun by the Name of *Ammon*, and the Ewe to the Moon, by the Name of *Sais* or *Minerva*, their Deities more peculiarly inspiring those Animals.

company them thither. For as neither the nourishing of Beards, nor the wearing of Mantles can render Men Philosophers, so neither will Linen Garments, or shaved Heads make Priests to *Isis*; but he is a true Priest of *Isis*, who after he hath received from the Laws the Representations and Actions that refer to the Gods, doth next apply his Reason to the Enquiry and Speculation of the Truth contained in them. For the greater part of Men are ignorant, even of this most common and ordinary thing, for what reason the Priests lay aside their Hair, and go in Linen Garments; some are not at all solicitous to be informed about such Questions; and others say their Veneration for *a* Sheep is the Cause they abstain from their Wooll as well as their Flesh, and that they shave their Heads in token of Mourning, and that they wear Linen because of the bloomy Colour which the Flax sendeth forth, in imitation of that Ethereal Clarity that environs the World. But indeed the true reason of them all is one and the same. *For it is not lawful (as Plato saith) for a clean thing to be touched by an unclean:* But now no Superfluity of Food, or Excrementitious Substance can be pure or clean; but Wools, Down, Hair and Nails, come up and grow from superfluous Excrements. It would be therefore an Absurdity for them to lay aside their own Hair in Purgations, by shaving themselves, and by making their Bodies all over smooth, and yet in the meantime to wear
and

and carry about them the Hairs of Brutes.
For we ought to think that the Poet *Hesiod*, when he saith ;

*a Nor at a Feast of Gods from five brancht-
With sharp edg'd Steel to part the green from*
(*Tree* ^a That is to
pare ones
Nails.
(*dry*.

Would teach us to keep the Feast already cleansed from such things as these, and not in the Solemnities themselves to use Purgation or Removal of Excrementitious Superfluities. But now Flax springs up from an Immortal Being, the Earth, and bears an *b* eatable Fruit, and affords a *b* Linseed simple and cleanly Cloathing, and not was used by some for Food. burdensom to him that's covered with it, and convenient for every Season of the Year, and which besides (as they tell us) is the least subject to engender Vermine ; but of this, to discourse in this place, would not be pertinent. But now the Priests do so abhor all kinds of superfluous Excrements, that they not only decline most sorts of Pulse, and of Flesh, that of Sheep and Swine, which produce much Superfluity ; but also in the time of their Purgations, exclude Salt from their Meals. For which, as they have several other good Reasons, so more especially this, that it *c* whets the Appetite, and renders Men over eager after Meat and Drink. *c* I read ἐμ-
δίζοντας for
ἐμδίζοντας.
For that the reason why Salt is not accounted clean, should be (as *Aristagoras* tells us) because that when its hardned together, many little Animals are catch-

a Bull in the Temple at Memphis devoted to the Sun by the Name of *Api* or *Ophi*, that is, *Father*.
b *Aquam colunt, aquam venerantur, &c.* Saith *Julius Firmicus. De Errore Profan. Relig.* Ω^s Αἰ-
 γωνε Ζεῦ Νεῖλε saith a certain Poet.

c *Heliopolis.*

d These answered to our Fasts.

e This *Psammeticus* was the first that reduced the ancient Aristocracy of *Aegypt* into a Monarchy, by the help of a foreign Army; see *Hecataeus*.

ed in it, and there dye, is fond and ridiculous. They are also said to water the *a Apis* from a Well of his own, and to restrain him altogether from the River *Nilus*; not because they hold the Water for polluted, by reason of the *Crocodile*, as some suppose (for there is nothing in the World in *b* more esteem with the *Aegyptians* than the *Nilus*) but because the Water of the *Nile* being drunk, is observed to be very feeding, and above all others, to conduce to the Increase of Flesh. But they would not have the *Apis*, nor themselves neither, to be over fat; but that their Bodies should sit light and easie about their Souls, and not press and squeeze them down by a Mortal Part overpowering and weighing down the Divine. They also that at the *c Sun-Town* wait upon that God, never bring Wine into his Temple; they looking upon it as a thing undecent and unfitting to drink by Daylight, while their Lord and King looks on. The rest of them do indeed use it, but very sparingly. They have likewise many *d Purgations*, wherein they prohibit the Use of Wine, in which they study Philosophy, and pass their Time in learning and teaching Things Divine. Moreover their Kings (being Priests also themselves) were wont to drink it by a certain Measure prescribed them in the *Sacred Books*, as *Hecataeus* informs us. And they began first to drink it in the Reign of King *e Psammeticus*, but before that time they were not used to drink Wine

Wine at all, no nor to pour it forth in Sacrifice as a thing they thought any way grateful to the Gods, but as the Blood of *a* those who in ancient Times waged War against the Gods, from whom falling down from Heaven, and mixing with the Earth, they conceived Vines to have first sprung ; which is the reason (say they) that Drunkenness renders Men besides themselves and mad, they being, as it were, gorged with the Blood of their Ancestors. These things (as *Eudoxus* tells us, in the Second Book of his Travels) are thus related by the Priests. As to Sea-fish, they do not all of them abstain from all, but some from one sort, and some from another. As for Example, the *Oxyrynchites*, from such as are catch'd with the Angle and Hook ; for having the Fish called *Oxyrynchus* (that is, the *Pike*) in great Veneration , they are afraid , lest the Hook should chance to catch hold of it, and by that means become polluted. They of *Syene* also abstain from the *Phagrus* (or *Sea bream*) because it is observed to appear with the approaching Overflow of the *Nile*, and to present it self a voluntary Messenger of the joyful News of its Increase. But the Priests abstain from all in general. But on the ninth day of the first Month, when every other *Ægyptian* eats *a* *b* Fry'd Fish before the outer Door of his House, the Priests do not eat any Fish, but *c* only burn them before their Doors. For which they have two Reasons, the one whereof being Sacred and very curious,

a The Giants were in all probability, the tall Drunken *Scythians*, who pillaged their Temples, and pulled down their Gods. For these had an Empire over all *Asia*, in the most ancient Times. *Per mille & quingentos annos*, as *Trogus Pompejus* relates.

b The *Ægyptian Pascha*.
c Fish are very unwholesom in hot Climates.

a I read ἀπο-
καλύπτω for
ἐκκαλύπτω.

b Fire was the
Egyptian De-
vil and the
Persian God.

c The Two
Hunting Dei-
ties, *Apello* and
Diana, have
the Names of
Diāys and
Diāyyna from
Διήρυος, a
Ner.

d It is there-
fore *Typhorian*
and an Enemy
to the God-
dess.

I shall resume by and by (it agreeing with the pious Reasonings we shall make upon *Osiris* and *Typhon*) the other is a very manifest and obvious one, which *a* by declaring Fish not to be either a necessary or a curious sort of Food, greatly confirms *Ho-mer*, who never makes either the dainty *Phaeacks* or the *Ithakeses* (though both Islanders) to make use of Fish; no, nor the Companions of *Ulysses*, neither, in so long a Voyage at Sea, until they came to the last Extremity of Want. In short, they reckon the Sea it self to be made of *b Fire*, and to lye out of Natures Confinde, and not to be a part of the World, or an Element, but a preternatural, corrupt and morbid Excrement. For nothing hath been ranked among their Sacred and Religious Rites that favoured of Folly, Romance or Superstition, as some do suppose; but were some of them such as contained some signification of Morality and Utility; and others, such as were not without a Fineness, either in History or Natural Philosophy. As for instance, in what refers to the Onyons: For that *c Diāys* the Foster Father of *Isis*, as he was reaching at a Handful of Onyons, fell into the River, and was there drowned, is extremely improbable. But the true Reason why the Priests abhor, detest and avoid the Onyon, is because it is the only Plant, whose Nature it is to grow and spread forth in the *d Wane* of the Moon. Besides, it is no proper Food, either for such as would practise Abstinence and use Purgations, or for

for such as would observe the Festivals :
 For the former, because it causeth Thirst ;
 and for the latter, because it forceth Tears
 from those that eat it. They likewise e-
 steem the Swine, as an unhallowed Ani-
 mal, because it is observed to be most apt
 to engender in the *a* Wane of the Moon ; *a* This was
 and because that such as drink its Milk sufficient to
 have a Leprosie and Scabby Roughness in prove it Ty-
 their Bodies. But the Story which they *phonian* or Di-
 that Sacrifice a Swine at every full abolick.
 Moon are wont to subjoin after their ear-
 ing of it ; how, that *Typhon* being once a-
 bout the full of the Moon in pursuit of a
 certain Swine, found by chance the wooden *b* For *Æg.*
 Chest, wherein lay the Body of *Osiris*, and *νοσμάτων*, I
 overthrew it, is not received by all, but read with
 looked upon as a *b* Mis-represented Story, *Xylander*
 as a great many more such are. They *Ἐξνοσμά-*
 tell us moreover that the Ancients did so *των*, *Osiris's*
 much expose Delicacy, Sumptuousness and Chest, or ra-
 a soft and effeminate way of Living, that ther Boat is
 they erected a Pillar in the Temple at the Crescent,
Thebes, having engraven upon it several and it is over-
 grievous Curses against King *c* *Meinis*. turned by be-
 who (as they tell us) was the first that coming De-
 brought off the *Ægyptians* from a Mean, crescent.
 Wealthless and simple way of Living. *c* *Meinis* was
 There goes also another Story, how that the *Deus Lu-*
Technatis, Father to *d* *Bacchoris*, command- nus, or the Sun
 ing an Army against the *Arabians*, and so the in the Moon,
 Baggage and Provisions not coming in as same with *Os-*
 soon as was expected, heartily fed upon *iris*. *Isis* calls
 such things as he could next light on, and him *Meni*.
 afterwards had a sound Sleep upon a Pallet, *d* So I read
 whereupon he fell greatly in Love with a for *Bacchoris*
 Copy.
 poor

poor and mean Life: And that for this reason he cursed *a Meinis*, and that with the Consent of all the Priests, and carved that Curse upon a Pillar. But their Kings (you must know) were always declared, either out of the Priesthood or Soldiery, the latter having a Right of Primogeniture, by reason of their Military Valour, and the *b* former, by reason of their Wisdom. But he that was chosen out of the Soldiery, was obliged immediately to turn Priest, and was thereupon admitted to the Participation of their Philosophy; whose Genius it was to conceal the greater Part in Tales and Romantic Relations, containing dark Hints and Resemblances of Truth, which it's plain that even themselves would insinuate to us, while they are so kind as to set up *Sphinxes* before their Temples, to intimate that their Theology, contained in it an *Ænigmatical* Sort of Learning. Moreover the Temple of *c Minerva*, which is at *Sais* (whom they look upon as the same with *Isis*) had upon it this Inscription: *d I am whatever was, or is, or will be, and my Petty-Coat no Mortal ever took up.* Besides, we find the greater Part to be of Opinion, that the proper Name of *Jupiter* in the *Ægyptian* Tongue, is *Amon* (from which we have derived our Word *Ammon*:) But now *Manethos* the *Sebennite*, thinks this Word signifies *e Hidden* and *Hiding*; but *Hecateus* of *Abdera* saith, the *Ægyptians* use this Word when they call any Body; for that it is a Term of Calling. Which if it be true, they must

a For *Meinis*, I read *Meis*. *Jamblicus* blames the *Ægyptians* for scolding at their Gods.

b The *Ægyptian* Priests were Hereditary like the *Jewish*; but the *Jews* had no Third Estate of Rufficks or Villains. All were free.

c She is called *Sai* in *Ægyptian*, which signifies a *Eve*, she being Sacred to her.

d That is, I am the Mother of all things corruptible, and the Sun is my Husband.

e *Amen* in the *Coptick*, signifies to Receive and Embrace, and in *Hebrew*, *Aman* is to Foster, whence *Aman* a Foster or Father: the *Phrygians* called the Moon *Amma*, Mother or Nurse.

must be of the Opinion that the first God is the same with the Universe ; and therefore while they invoke him who is unmanifest and hidden, and pray him to make himself manifest and known to them, they cry *Amun*. So great therefore was the Piety of the *Aegyptians* Philosophy about Things Divine : Which is also confirmed by the most Learned of the *Greeks* (such as *Solon*, *Thales*, *Plato*, *Eudoxus*, and as some say, even *Lycurgus*) going to *Aegypt*, and conversing with the Priests. Of which, a they say *Eudoxus* was a Hearer of *Chonuphis* of *Memphis*, *Solon* of *Sonchis* of *Sais*, and *Pythagoras* of *Oenuphis* of *Heliopolis* : Whereof the last named, being (as is probable) more than ordinarily admired by the Men, and they also by him, imitated their Symbolical and Myste-
 rious way of Talking, obscuring his Sentiments with dark Riddles. For the greatest part of the *Pythagoric* Precepts, fall nothing short of those Sacred Writings they call *Hieroglyphical*, such as, *b Do not eat in a Chariot*. *c Do not sit on a Chanix* (or Measure) *d Plant not a Palm-Tree* : *e Stir not Fire with a Knife within the House*. And I verily believe, that their terming the *Unite Apollo*, the Number *Two Diana*, the Number *Seven Minerva*, and the first *Cube Neptune*, refers to the Statues set up in their Temples, and to things there acted, I and painted too by *Jove*. For they represent their King and Lord *f Osiris*, by an Eye and a Scepter : (there are some also that interpret his Name by *Many-eyed*, as if *Os* in the *Aegyptian* Sun.

Tongue,

a I read *Chonuphis* for *Choni*.

b That is, Do not satisfy your self with bodily Pleasure.

c Neglect not the Future.

d Virtue cannot be taught.

e Oppose Temper to Passion.

f The Coptic *ou Sige* is the same with the

Greek *o Sef*, i.e. The

Sire or Lord,

with which agrees the Hebrew *Sar*; and it means the

a For θυμὸν
ἐχάρας I read
θυμῶν, and
a little be-
fore τὸ μὴν
for τὸ μὴν,
and φεζόν-
τες for φεζ-
όντες.

b The Beetle
was Sacred to
the Sun for
engendring on
the Earth:
thus Souldiers
were the first
Planters and
Parents of
Countries.

c I read πα-
θήματα for
μαθήματα.

d For κυνικῶ-
σιν, I read
συνοικεῖσιν.

e For ἐγνία,
I read ἐγ-
νοία.

f The Blossom
of the Lotus o-
pens and shuts
with the Sun,
and grows in
and about the
Nile.

Tongue, signified *Many*, and *Iri* an Eye.) And the Heaven, because by reason of its Eternity it never grows old, they represent by a *Heart*, a *with a Censer under it*. There were also Statues of Judges, erected at *Thebes*, having no Hands, and the Chief of them had also his Eyes closed up, hereby signifying, that among them Justice was not to be solicited with either Bribery or Address. Moreover, the Men of the Sword had a Beetle carved upon their Signers, because there is no such thing as a Female Beetle, for they are all Males, and they generate their Young by forming certain round *b* Pellets of Dirt, being herein as well Providers of the Place in which they are to be engendred, as of the Matter of their Nutrition. When therefore you hear the Tales which the *Egyptians* relate about the Gods, such as their Wanderings, Disceptions, and such like *c* Disasters that befel them, you are still to remember that none of these things are told as things that had been really so acted and done. For they don't call the Dog *Hermes* properly, but only *d* attribute (as *Plato* speaks) the *Ward- ing, Vigilancy and Acuteness* of that Animal, which by *Knowing* or *e* *not Knowing*, Distinguishes betwixt its Friend and its Foe, to the most knowing and ingenious of the Gods. Nor do they believe that the Sun springs up a little Boy from the top of the Plant called *f* *Lotus*: but they thus set forth his Rising to insinuate his Re-ascension by Humids. Besides that most salvage and horrible King of the *Persians*, named *Ochus*, who when

when he had massacred abundance of People, afterwards slaughtered the *Apis*, and feasted upon him both himself and his Retinue, they called the *Sword*, and they call him so to this very Day in their Table of Kings, hereby not denoting properly his Person, but resembling by this Instrument of Murther, the Severity and Mischievousness of his Disposition. When therefore you thus hear the Stories of the Gods from such as *a* interpret them with Consistency to Piety and Philosophy, and observe and practice those Rites that are by Law established, and are perswaded in your Minds that you cannot possibly, either offer or perform a more agreeable thing to the Gods, than the entertaining of a right Notion of them, you will then avoid Superstition as a no less Evil than Atheism it self. The Story therefore is *b* thus told, after the most concise manner, the most useles and unnecessary parts being cut off. They tell us, how that once on a time, *Rhea* having accompanied with *Saturn* by stealth, the *c* *Sun* found them out, and pronounced a solemn Curse against her, containing that she should not be delivered in any Month or Year: But that *Hermes*, afterwards making his Court to the Goddess, obtained her Favour, in requital of which, he went and play'd at Dice with the Moon, and won of her the seventieth Part from each of her Illuminations, and out of all these made five new Days, which he added to the three hundred and sixty other Days of the Year,

a The Rites and Opinions of the more ancient and barbarous Ages have been prudently allegorized in after Times, that so Virtue might be introduced without too much Innovation.

b For $\epsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$, I read $\epsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$.

c The most antient Egyptians seem to have agreed with the Persians in worshipping none but the Sun; and the other Gods to have been introduced by Superstitious Innovators and wanton Sects.

a For $\pi\alpha\chi\delta\epsilon\nu\pi$, I read $\pi\chi\delta\epsilon\nu\pi$.

b For $\psi\delta\rho\epsilon\nu\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\nu$, I read $\psi\delta\rho\epsilon\nu\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\eta\nu$.

c I read $\epsilon\gamma\chi\eta\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ for $\epsilon\gamma\chi\eta\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

d I suppose because of the Similitude of their Rites and Worship.

Year, which the *Aegyptians* therefore to this Day call the *Epagomena* (or the *Superadded Days*) and they observe them as the Birth Days of their Gods. Upon the first of these they say *Osiris* was born, and that a Voice came into the World a with him saying, *the Lord of all things is now born*. There are others that affirm that one *Pamyles*, as he was b fetching Water at *Thebes*, heard a Voice out of the Temple of *Jupiter*, bidding him to publish with a loud Voice, *That Osiris the great and Good was now born*. And that he thereupon got to be Foster Father to *Osiris*, *Saturn* c entrusting him with the Charge of him; and that the Feast called *Pamylia* (resembling the *Priapejan* Procession, which the *Greeks* call *Phallegphoria*) was instituted in Honour of him. Upon the second Day *Arueris* was born, whom some call *Apollo*, and others the *Elder Orus*. Upon the third *Typhon* was born, who came not into the World either in due Time, or by the right Way, but broke a Hole in his Mothers Side, and leap'd out at the Wound. Upon the fourth *Isis* was born in the Fens. And upon the Fifth *Nephthys*, whom they sometimes call the *End*, and sometimes *Venus*, and sometimes also *Victory*: of these they say *Osiris* and *Arueris* were d begot by the *Sun*, *Isis* by *Hermes*, and *Typhon* and *Nephthys* by *Saturn*. For which reason, their Kings looking upon the third of the *Epagomena* as an inauspicious Day, did no Business upon it, nor took any care of their Bodies until the Evening. They say

say also that *Nephtys* was *a* married unto *a* *Typhon*, and that *Isis* and *Osiris* were in Love with one another, before they were born, and enjoyed each other *b* in the Dark before they came into the World. Some add also, that *c Arueris* was thus begotten, and that he was called by the *Ægyptians* the *Eider Orus*, and by the *Greeks* *Apollo*. And they say that *Osiris*, when he was King of *Ægypt*, drew them off from a Beggarly and Bestial way of Living, by shewing them the Use of Grain, and by making them Laws, and teaching them to honour the Gods. And that afterwards he travelled all the World over, and made it Civil, having but little need of Arms, for that he drew the most to him, alluring them by Perswasion and Oratory, intermixed with all sorts of Poetry and Musick: whence it is, that the *Greeks* look upon him as the very same with *d Bacchus*. They further add, that *Typhon*, while he was from Home, attempted nothing against him; for that *Isis* was very watchful, and guarded her self closely from him. But that when he came Home, he formed a Plot against him, *e* taking seventy two Men for Accomplices of his Conspiracy, and being also abetted by a certain Queen of *Æthiopia*, whose Name they say was *Aso*. Having therefore privately taken the Measure of *Osiris's* Body,

a I read *ἡ-μαδαί* for *ἡμαδαί* with *Xylander*.
b The Sun communicates his Light to the Moon in the lower Hemisphere.
c *Arueris* in Hebrew *Aroer*, i.e. *The Watchman*, and *ou pa* in Coptic, is the *Seer*, *Prophet*, or *King*, as *Roe* in Hebrew.

d The most ancient Forms of Government, as well as of Tunes, Dances and Temples, were but Imitations of what was observed in the Heavens.
e The Supreme Judicatures of *Æ-*

gypt consisted of LXXII. which were, as it were, the XXXVI. *Decani* of the Superior World, joyned with the XXXVI. *Nomarchæ* of *Ægypt*, or the Inferior World by way of Representation.

and

and framed a curious Ark, very finely beautified, and just of the Size of his Body, he brought it to a certain Banquet. And as all were wonderfully delighted with so rare a Sight, and admired it greatly; *Typhon*, in a sporting manner, promised, that whichsoever of the Company, should, by lying in it, find it to be of the Size of his Body, should have it for a Present.

a That is, the Sun into the Moon.

b For *Σερμῶ* *μολύβδῳ*, I read *Σερμῶν* *μολύβδον*.

c So named from *Tanaus* King of the *Scythians* mentioned by *Trogus Pompejus*, as the first Invader of *Ægypt*. He seems to me to be the same with *Typhon* (for *Ezechiel* calls this very Place *Taphnis*) but Hieroglyphically expressed.

d For *ἐκείνῃς* I read *ἐκείνῳ*.

e I read *ἄμυν* for *ἄννιν* with *Xylander*.

f For *λόγων*, I read *λόγον*.

And as every one of them was forward to try, and none fitted it, *a Osiris* at last got into it himself, and lay along in it; whereupon they that were there present, immediately ran to it and clapt down the Cover upon it, and when they had fastned it down with Nails, and sodered it with *b* melted Lead, they carried it forth to the River side, and let it swim into the Sea at the *c Tanaitick* Mouth, which the *Ægyptians* therefore to this Day abominate, and spit at the very Naming of it. These things happened (as they say) upon the seventeenth of the Month *Athyr*, when the Sun enters into the *Scorpion*, and *d* that was upon the eight and twentieth Year of the Reign of *Osiris*. But there are some that say that was the time of his Life, and not of his Reign. And because the *d* For *ἐκείνῃς* *Pans* and *Satyrs* that inhabited the Region about *e Chemmis*, were the first that knew of this Disaster, and raised the *f* Report of it among the People, all sudden Frights and Discomposures among the People, have been ever since called *Panic Fears*. But when *Isis* heard of it, she cut off in that very Place, a Lock of her Hair, and

put on a Mourning Weed, where there is ^a From Caph-
 a Town at this Day named *Coptos* (which ¹², which is
 is *a Mourning*) others think that Name ^{Syria} for a
 signifies *Bereiving*, for that some use the ^{Blow with the}
 Word *Coptein* for *Depriving*. And as she ^{Hand, and not}
 wandered up and down *b* in all Places, be- ^{from the Greek}
 ing deeply perplext in her Thoughts, and ^{νότος.}
 left no one she met withal unspoken to, This Place is
 she met at last with certain little Chil- ^{called Chiptor}
 dren, of whom also she enquired about the ^{in the Bible.}
Ark. ^c Now these had chanced to see all ^b I read πῆν.
 that had passed, and they named to her ^{π for πῆν.}
 the very Mouth of the Nile, by which ^c For τὰ δ' ἔ.
d Typhons Accomplices had sent the Vessel ^{πυχον, I read}
 into the Sea: For which reason the *Egyp-* ^{τὰ δὲ τυχον.}
tians account little Children to have a Fa- ^{d Typhon in}
 culty of Divination, and use more especi- ^{Coptic, signi-}
 ally to lay hold on their *Omens* when they ^{fies the Ser-}
 play in Sacred Places, or chance to say a- ^{pent, a Hiero-}
 ny thing there, whatever it be. And find- ^{glyphic for an}
 ing afterwards that *Osiris* had made his ^{Enemy, whe-}
 Court to her Sister, and through Mistake ^{ther Man or}
 enjoyed her instead of her self, for Token ^{Dæmon.}
 of which, she had found the *e* Melilot ^e For μὲν λδ.
 Garland which he had left hard by *Neph-* ^{προς, I read}
thys, she went to seek for the Child (for ^{μετὰ ππος,}
 her Sister had immediately *f* exposed it af- ^{with Xylander.}
 soon as she was delivered of it, for fear of ^f I add ἐν.
 her Husband *Typhon*.) And when, with ^{δ' ἔρατ' after}
 great Difficulty and Labour, she had ^{πρὸς αὐτὸν} with
 found it, by means of certain Dogs which ^{Xylander.}
 conducted her to it, she brought it up, ^{g Anubis or}
 and he afterwards became her Guard-man ^{χαυὲς was}
 and Follower, being named *g Anubis*, and ^{the same with}
Winged and Gold, both which refer to the *Sun*, which was the
 ancient *Mercury*.

reported to guard the Gods as Dogs do Men. Of him she had Tidings of the Ark, how it had been thrown out by the Sea upon the Coasts of *Byblos*, and the Flood had gently entangled it in a certain Thicket of Heath (or *Tamarisk*.) And this Heath had in a very small time run up into a most beauteous and large Tree, and had wrought it self about it, clung to it, and quite inclosed it within its Trunk. Upon which, the King of that Place much admiring at the unusual bigness of the Plant, and cropping off the bushy Part that encompasseth the now invisible Chest, made of it a Post to support the Roof of his House. These things (as they tell us) *Isis* being informed of by the Dæmonial Breath of a *a* Voice, went her self to *Byblos*; where, when she was come, she sat her down hard by a Well very pensive and full of Tears, insomuch that she refused to speak to any Person, save only to the Queens Women, whom she complemented and caressed at an extraordinary rate, and would often stroak back their Hair with their Hands, and withal, transmit a most wonderful fragrant Smell out of her Body into theirs. *b* The Queen perceiving that her Womens Bodies and Hair thus breathed of *Ambrosia*, greatly longed to become acquainted with this new Stranger. Upon this, she being sent for, and becoming very intimate with her, was at last made Nurse to her Child. Now the Name of this King (they tell us) was

a Dæmons, when felt, are called Spirits, and when only heard
ῥήματα and *φύματα*, i. e. Words and Voices.

b These Stories were the popular Sermons of later Priests and Expositors of ancient Rites.

was a *Malcarthos*, and the Queen, some a *For* *μάλ-*
say, was called *b Astarte*, and some *Saosis*, *καὶ δ' εὖς*, I
 and others *Nemanus* (which in *Greek* is as read *μάλ' αἰς* -
 much as to say *Athene* or *Pallas*) but *Isis* *δος*, and,
 nursed the Child by putting her Finger *b' Ἀσάρτη* for
 into his Mouth instead of the Breast, and *Ἀσπάρτη*.
 in the Night time, she would, by a kind
 of lambent Fire, singe away what was
 mortal about him. In the mean while,
 her self would be turned to a Swallow,
 and in that Form would fly round about
 the Post, bemoaning her Misfortune and
 sad Fate; until at last, the Queen, who
 stood watching hard by, cryed out aloud,
 as she saw her Child all on a light Flame,
 and so robbed him of Immortality. Up-
 on which, the Goddess discovered her
 self, and begged the Post that held up the
 Roof. Which when she had obtained *c* The most
 and taken down, she very quickly cropt antick sort of
 off the bushy Heath from about it, and Statues, were
c wrapping the Trunk in fine Linnen, and Pillars, Posts
 and Spears;
 pouring perfumed Oyl upon it, she put it such was the
 into the Hands of their Kings, and there- *Quiris* of the
 fore the *Byblians*, to this very Day, wor- *Sabins*.
 ship that Piece of Wood, laying it up in *d* These seem
 the Temple of *Isis*. Then she threw her to have been
 self down upon the Chest, and her La- the same with
 mentations were so loud, that the younger the *Grecian*
 of the Kings *d* two Sons dyed for very *Διοσκυροί*, or
Cassor and
 Fear; but she having the Elder in her *Polux*.
 own Possession, took both it and the Ark *e* For *ἐν τρεῖ-*
 and carried them on Shipboard, and so *ἵαντο*, I
 took Sail. But the River *Phadrus* *e* send- read with the
 ing forth a very keen and chill Air, it be- *Aldine Edition*,
 ing the Dawning of the Morn, she grew *ἐν θρεῖ-ἵαν-*
τῶ.

a It is dangerous for the Vulgar to pry too far into Sacred things.

b For *ὧς*, I read *ὧ*.

c *Maneros*, i.e. The Moon-

King was the same with *Osiris* and *Artis Menotyrannus*.

d This is only to hint to us that the *Palestinians* were originally *Pelusites*, with whom they agreed in their Religious Rites and Opinions; and that is confirmed by the Scripture.

e I insert *ἵνα* before *ἀλσιμα*.

f For *τέτο*, I read *τέτο*.

incensed at it, and dried up its Current. And in the first Place where she could take rest, and found her self to be now at liberty and alone, she opened the Ark, and laid her Cheeks upon the Cheeks of *Osiris*, and embraced him and wept bitterly. The little Boy seeing her, came silently behind her, and peeping, saw what it was, which she perceiving, cast a terrible Look upon him in the height of her Passion, the Fright whereof the Child not enduring, *a* immediately died. But there are some that say it was not so, but that, *b* in the forementioned manner, he dropped into the Sea, and was there drowned. And he hath Divine Honours given him to this very Day upon the Goddesses account; for they assure us, that *c* *Mazeros*, whom the *Ægyptians* so often mention in their Caroles at their Banquets, is the very same. But others say the Boy was named *d* *Palestinus*, or *Pelusius*, and that the City of that Name was so called from him, it having been built by this Goddess. They also relate, that this *Maneros*, so often spoken of in their Songs, was the first that invented Musick. But some there are, that would make us believe, that *Maneros* was not the Name of any Person, but a certain form of Speech, made use of to People in Drinking and entertaining themselves at Feasts, *e* by way of wishing that things of that Nature, might prove auspicious and agreeable to them; *f* for that that is the Thing which the *Ægyptians* would express by the Word *Maneros*,

Maneros, when they so often roar it forth. In like manner they affirm that the likeness of a dead Man, which is carried about in a little Boat and shewed to them, is not to commemorate the Disaster of *Osiris*, as some suppose, but was designed to encourage Men to make use of, and to enjoy the present Things, while they have them, since all Men must quickly become such as they there see; for which reason, they bring him into their Revels and Feasts. But when *Isis* came to her Son *Orus*, who was then at Nurse at *Butos*, and had laid the Chest out of the way, *Typhon*, as he was Hunting by Moonlight, by chance light upon it, and knowing the Body again, tore it into a fourteen ^a These Fourteen parts, and threw them all about. Which ^{teen parts} when *Isis* had heard, she went to look for ^{plainly refer} them again in a certain Barge made of ^{to the Four-} the Bull rush called *Papyrus*, in which she ^{teen days of} sailed over all the Fens. Whence (they ^{the Waue of} tell us) it comes to pass that such as go in ^{the Moon,} Boats made of this Rush, ^{which shews} are never injured by the Crocodiles, they having either ^{the Ark to be} a ^{the Cressent.} *b* Fear, or else a Veneration for it, upon the account of the Goddess *Isis*. And this (they say) hath occasioned the Report that there are many Sepulchres of *Osiris* in *Aegypt*, because she made a particular Funeral for each Member as she found them. There are others that tell us it was not so, but that she made several Effigies of him, and sent them to every City, taking on her, as if she had sent them his Body, so that the greater

Number of People might pay Divine Honours to him ; and withal, that if it should chance that *Typhon* should get the better of *Orus*, and thereupon search for the Body of *Osiris*, many being discourf of and shewed him, he might despair of ever finding the right one. But of all *Osiris's* Members, *Isis* could never find out his Private Part, for it had been presently flung into the *a* River *Nilus*, and the

a Therefore called the *Es*.

flux of *Osiris*.

b For *es* *es*,

I read *es* *es*.

But *Isis*, in lieu of it, made its Effigies,

and so consecrated the *Phallus* (it being a Resemblance of it) for which the *Æ-*

c The *Baccha-*
nals.

d I read with

Petavius's Co-

py, *στα-*

νείν for *στα-*

νιέμεν.

e *Orus* in *Cop-*

αίχου *ρδ*. i e.

the King,

whence *Pba-*

ουρο or *Pba-*

υρο in the same

Sense: he was

the same with

Osiris, but of a

later Founda-

tion, therefore

called his Son,

as *Apollo* was

Jupiters.

gyptians, to this Day, observe a *c* Festival.

After this, *Osiris* coming out of Hell to

assist his Son *Orus*, first *d* laboured and

trained him up in the Discipline of War,

and then questioned him what he thought

to be the gallantest thing a Man could do ;

to which he soon reply'd, to avenge ones

Father and Mothers Quarrel when they

suffer Injury. He asked him a second

time, what Animal he esteem'd most use-

ful to such as would go to Battle: *e* *Orus*

told him a Horse; to which he said, that

he wondred much at his Answer, and

could not imagine why he did not rather

name a Lyon than a Horse. *Orus* replied,

that a Lyon might indeed be very service-

able to one that needed Help, but a

Horse would serve best to cut off and dis-

perse a flying Enemy. Which when *Osi-*

ris heard, he was very much pleased with

him,

him, looking upon him now as sufficiently instructed for a Souldier. It is reported likewise, that as a great many went over dayly unto *Orus*, *Typhon's* own Concubine, a *Thueris* deserted also; but that a certain Serpent pursuing her close at the Heels, was cut in pieces by *Orus's* Men, and that for that reason they still sling a certain Cord into the midst of the Room, and then chop it to pieces. The Battle therefore continued for several days, and *Orus* at last prevailed; but *Isis*, although she had *Typhon* delivered up to her fast bound, yet would not put him to Death, but contrariwise loosed him and let him go. Which when *Orus* perceived, he could not brook it with any Patience, but laid violent Hands upon his Mother, and plucked the Royal Diadem from off her Head. But *Hermes* presently step'd in and clapped a Cows Head upon her instead of a Helmet. Likewise when *Typhon* impeached *Orus* for being a Bastard, *Hermes* became his Advocate, and *Orus* was judged Legitimate by all the Gods. After this, they say that *Typhon* was worsted in two several Battles. *Isis* had also by *Osiris*, who accompanied with her after her Decease, *c Harpocrates*, who came into the World before his Time, and was Lame in his lower Parts. These then are most of the Heads of this Fabular Narration, the more harsh and course Parts (such as the Description of *Orus*, and the Beheading of *Isis*) being taken out. *a* If therefore they say and believe such things as

a I know not whether she be the same with *Josephus's Thauris*, which he makes to be *Moses's* Mistress. *Thauri* in *Coptick* signifies Queen; she was a little before called *Aso*, i. e. *Puissant*, I take her to be the Moon.

b The Horns of the New Moon.

c *Harpocrates*, i. e. The Lord of the *Harpies* or Storms; he is the Sun in the Winter Quarter.

d These Stories (however since refin'd upon) were literally believed in the more antient; and rude Times.

a For $\alpha\gamma$, I
read $\alpha\alpha\upsilon$.

b For $\alpha\pi\alpha\rho$
 $\chi\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\nu\tau\omicron\delta\epsilon$
tes, I read
 $\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\chi\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\nu$
 $\tau\omicron\delta\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$.

c To $\alpha\nu\tau\eta$,
I add $\alpha\iota\theta\eta\mu\alpha$
 $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\iota\nu$.

d $\Delta\epsilon\delta\upsilon\omicron\iota$, or
Races: the
Olympick and
other Games
were at first
invented in
Honour of the
Suns Motion.

these of the Blessed and Incorruptible Nature (which is the best Conception we can have of Divinity) as really thus done and happening to it, I need not tell you a that you ought to spir, and (as *Eschylus* speaks) *to make clean your Mouth* at the mentioning of them: for you are sufficiently averse of your self, to such as entertain such wicked and barbarous Sentiments concerning the Gods. And yet that these Relations are nothing a-Kin to those Foppish Tales, and vain Fictions which Poets and Story-tellers are wont, like Spiders, to spin out of their own Bowels b without any substantial Ground or Foundation for them, and then Weave and Wire-draw them out at their own Pleasures; but contain in them certain abstruse Questions and Rehearsals of Events, c you your self, are, I suppose, convinced. And as Mathematicians do assert, the Rain-bow to be an Appearance of the Sun, so variegated by the distance of the Sight in such a Position with the Cloud; so likewise the Fable here related is the Appearance of a certain Way of Reasoning, refracting its Meaning upon some other Matters, as is plainly suggested to us, as well by the Sacrifices themselves, in which there appears something lamentable and very sad, as by the Forms and Makes of their Temples, which sometimes run out themselves into lofty Pinnacles, and into open and airy d Cloaks; and at other times again, have under Ground certain private Cells, resembling Thebean Vaults, and dark Oratories; and this

this is not the least hinted to us by the Opinion received about those of *Osiris*; because his Body is said to be interred in so many different Places. Though it may be they will tell you that some one Town, such as *Abydos* or *Memphis* is named for the Place where his true Body lies, and that the most powerful and wealthy among the *Egyptians* are most ambitious to be buried at *a Abydos*, that so they may be near the Body of their God *Osiris*; and that the *Apis* is fed at *Memphis*, because he is the *b Image* of his Soul, where also they will have it that his Body is interred. Some also interpret the Name of this City to signify *The Heaven of good Things*, and others, *c The Tomb of Osiris*. They add that the little Island called *Nisitine*, which stands in the River over against the City Gates, is at other times inaccessible, and not to be approached to by any Man, and that the very Birds dare not venture to fly over it, nor the Fish to touch upon its Banks; yet upon a certain set time, the Priests go over into it, and there perform the accustomed Rites for the Dead, and crown his Tomb, which stands there shaded over by a *d Citron Tree*, which exceeds any Olive in bigness. But *Eudoxus* saith, that though there be in *Agypt* many Tombs reported to be his, yet his true Body lies at *e Busiris*, for that that was the Place of his Birth. Neither can there be any room for Dispute about *Taphosiris*, for that its very Name bespeaks it; *f Osiris's Tomb*. He also commends their *g cleaving*

a Some reduce it to the Hebrew *Abaddon*.

b That is, he is one of the chief Creatures of the Sun.

c *Amenophi* in *Coptic*, is the *Receptacle of Apis*, and the Name of *Memphis*; it's called in the Bible *Noph*.

d For *μνδιδυς*, or as *Petravius's* Copy has it, *μνδιδυς*, I read *μνδιδυς*.

e *Πουετ*, in *Coptic* signifies *Lord Osiris*.

f The Name is not Greek but *Coptic*, and signifies *Lord Osiris's Gift*.

a This they did to make him an Ark or Boat for his Burial.

b The Egyptians believed that all eminent Persons were made Stars when they died; see *Herodotus*.

c For τὴν ἑσπερίαν, I read τῆς Ὠκυμένης.

d Those of Thebais did like the Persians, reduce their Superior God to the Light or Spirit of the Universe.

a cleaving of a Tree, their peeling of Flax, and the Wine Libations then made by them, because many of their secret Mysteries are therein contained. And it is not these Gods only, but all others also, that are not ungotten and incorruptible, that the Priests pretend that their Bodies lye buried with them, and are by them served; but their *b* Souls are Stars shining in Heaven; and that the Soul of *Isis* is by the *Greeks* called the *Dog*, but by the *Egyptians* *Sothis*; and *c* that of *Orus Orion*, and that of *Typhon* the *Bear*. They also tell us, that towards the Pourtraying of the Animals honoured by them, all others pay the Proportion assigned them by the Laws, but that those that inhabit the Country of *Thebais*, are the only Men that refuse to contribute any thing, because they believe no Mortal God, but him only whom they call *d Cneph*, who is ungotten and immortal. They therefore who suppose that, because many things of this sort are both related and shown unto Travellers, they are but so many Commemorations of the Actions and Disasters of mighty Kings and Tyrants, who by reason of their Eminent Valour or Puissance, wrote the Title of Divinity upon their Fame, and afterwards fell into great Calamities and Misfortunes; these, I say, make use of the most ready Way of eluding the Story, and plausibly enough remove things of harsh and uncouth sound from Gods to Men. Nay, I will add this farther, that the Arguments they use, are fair-

fairly enough deduced from the things themselves related. For the *Aegyptians* recount, that *Hermes* was, in regard to the Make of his Body, *a* with one Arm *a* The *Aegyptians* longer than the other, and that *Typhon* *ians* called was by Complexion Red, *Orus* White, the South and and *Osiris* Black, as if they had been indeed nothing else but Men. They moreover style *Osiris* a Commander, and *b* *Canopus* a Pilot, from whom they say the Star of that Name was denominated. Also the Ship which the *Greeks* call *c* *Argo*, being the Image of *Osiris's* Ark, and therefore, in Honour of it, made a Constellation, they make to ride not far from *Orion* and the *Dog*; whereof the one they believe to be Sacred to *Orus*, and the other to *Isis*. But I fear this would be to stir Things that are not to be stirred, and to declare War, *d* not only (as *Simonides* speaks) against length of Time, but also against many Nations and Families of Mankind, whom a Religious Reverence towards these Gods, holds fast bound like *e* Men astonished and amazed, and would be no other *f* than going about to remove so great and venerable Names from Heaven to Earth, and thereby shaking and dissolving that Worship and Perswasion that hath entered into almost all Mens Constitutions from their very Birth, and opening vast Doors to the Atheists Faction, who convert all Divine Matters into Human, giving also a large License to the Impostures of *Euemerus* of *Messina*, who out of his

a The *Aegyptians* called the South and the North by the Names of the Right and Left Hand of the Sun.

b *Canopus* was the same with *Cneph* or *Cnephis*, and was no other than *Eros* or *Jupiter*, *Pluvius*.

c *Argo* had its Name from the *Syriac* *Arca*, i. e. a *Canoo* or Long-boat, like the *Crossent*, where the Sun rides.

d For *is*, I read *ou*.

e *κατόχους*, i. e. *Corruptis*. *f* I add *τῇ* before *ἐξ* *δουραῖ*.

a The *Aegyptians* reckoned the very Sun and Moon among their Kings, because they hold all Stars to be the Souls of Men.

b For *πάγχιον*, I read *Παγχαίον*, and *ἀναγεγονυμένον*, for *ἀναγεγονυμένος*.
 c *Cedrenus* saith, *Semiramis* was the same with *Rhea*: if so, she differed not from *Asiarte*, *Isis* and *Venus*, to whom the Pigeon was sacred. *Skemiramis* in Hebrew, is *Celestis Excelsa*.
 d It may be *Manis* was the same with *Meinis* and *Osiris*.

e For *ἐξαγέρτες*, I read *ἐξαγέρτους*.

a own Brain, contrived certain Memoirs, of a most incredible and imaginary Mythology, and thereby spread all manner of Atheism throughout the World, by drawing out the Names of all the received Gods under the Style of Generals, Sea-Captains and Kings, whom he makes to have lived in the more remote and ancient Times; and to be recorded in Golden Characters in a certain Country called *Panchoa*, with which notwithstanding never any Man, either *Barbarian* or *Grecian*, had the good Fortune to meet, except *Euemerus* alone, who (it seems) sailed to the Land of the *Panchoans* and *Triphyllians*, that neither have, nor ever had a being. And although the Actions of *c Semiramis* are sung among the *Assyrians* as very great, and likewise those of *Sesostris* in *Aegypt*; and the *Phrygians* to this very Day stile all illustrious and strange Actions *Manick* ones, because *d Manis*, one of their antient Kings (whom some call *Masdes*) was a brave and mighty Person. And although *Cyrus* enlarged the Empire of the *Persians*, and *Alexander* that of the *Macedonians*, within a little Matter of the World's End, yet have they still retained the Names and Memorials of gallant Princes. And if some, *e* puffed up with excessive Vain-glory (as *Plato* speaks) having their Minds enflamed at once with both youthful Blood and Folly, have with an unruly Extravagancy, taken upon them the Style of Gods, and had Temples erected in their Honour, yet this Opinion of them

them flourished but for a short Season, and they afterwards underwent the Blame of great Vanity and Arrogancy, conjoyned with the highest Impiety and Wickedness, and so,

(Fate.

Like smook they flew away with swift pac'd

And being dragg'd away from the Altars like Fugitive Slaves, they have now nothing left them but their Tombs and Graves. Which made *Antigonus* the Elder, when one *Hermodotus* had in his Poems declared him to be Son to the Sun, and a God, to say to him: *Friend, he that empties my Close-stool pan, knows no such Matter by me.* And *Lysippus* the Carver, had good reason to quarrel with the Painter *Apelles* for drawing *Alexanders* Picture with a Thunder-bolt in his Hand, whereas himself had made him but with a Spear, which (he said) was natural and proper for him, and a Weapon, the Glory of which, no time would rob him of. Therefore they maintain the wiser Opinion, who hold that the things here storied of *Typhon*, *Osiris* and *Isis*, were not the Events of Gods, nor yet of Men, but of certain Grand Demons, whom *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, *Xenocrates* and *Chrysippus* (following herein the Opinion of the most antient Theologists) affirm to be of greater strength than Men, and to transcend our Nature by much in Power, but not to have a Divine Part pure and unmixt, but such as participates of both the Souls Intention, and the Bodies

a For *δεχ- μένν*, I read both Pleasure and Pain; and that the *δεχ- μένν*; Passions that attend these Mutations, disorder some of them more, and others of them less. For there are divers degrees both of Vertue and Vice, as among Men, read *εὐστας* so also among Demons: For what they and *αἰ- θήστας* sing about among the Greeks concerning b For *πνός*, I the Giants and the Titans, and of b certain read *πνός*. horrible actions of Saturns, as also of Py- c I read *φυ- γαί* for *εὐθ- γαί*, with thons Combats with Apollo, of the c Flights of Bacchus, and the Ramblings of Ceres, come nothing short of the Relations about *Osiris* and *Typhon*, and others such, which every Body may lawfully and freely hear as they are told in the Mythology. The like may be also said of those things, that being veiled over in the Mystick Rites and Sacred Ceremonies of Initiation, are therefore kept private from the Sight and Hearing of the Common Sort. We also hear *Homer* often calling such as are extraordinary good, *Godlike*, and *Gods Compares*, and,

In Counsel equal with the Deities.

LXX. render *ἑκόντ* *Nisf*, by *κύει* *αποφυγίμ*.

But the Epithet derived from Demons, we find him to bestow upon the Good and Bad indifferently, as;

Demon-like, Sir, make haste, why do you fear the Argives thus? — And then on the contrary side.

When the fourth time he rusht on like a Demon.

And

And again. (Where Jupiter speaks thus to Juno.)

*Demonial Dame, what hath poor Priam done,
To anger you so much? Or what his Son?
That you resolve fair Illiums Overthrow;
And your revengeful Purpose wo'nt forgo.*

Where he seems to make *Demons* to be of a mix'd and unequal Temper and Inclination. Whence it is that *Plato* assigns to the *Olympick* Gods, Dexter things and odd Numbers, and the opposite to these, to *Demons*. And *Xenocrates* also is of Opinion, that such Days as are commonly accounted unlucky, and those Holy Days, in which are used Scourgings, Beatings of Breasts, Fastings, uncouth Words, or obscene Speeches, do not appertain to the Honour of Gods, or of good *Demons*; ^a This confirms the Observation of St. Paul, that the Sacrifices of the Gentiles were made to *Demons*, and not to Gods; and this is fully proved by Prophecy, in his Book *De Abstinētiā*, where he is not ashamed to justify them in it.

but thinks there are in the Air that inviron us about, certain great and mighty Natures, but withal, a morose and tetricall ones, that take pleasure in such things as these; and if they have them, they do no farther Mischief. On the other side, the Beneficent ones are styled by *Hesiod*, *Holy Demons*, and *Guardians of Mankind* and, *Givers of Wealth, this Royal Gift they have.* ^b I here add

And *Plato* calls this sort, the Interpreting and ministring Kind; and saith, they are in a middle Place betwixt the Gods and Men, and that they carry up Mens Prayers and Addresses thither, and bring from thence

thence hither Prophetic Answers and Distributions of good Things. *Empedocles* saith also, that *Demons* undergo severe Punishments, for their Evil Deeds and Misdemeanors.

a For ἰσού-
δης I read ἰς
ἀνέρες, and
for ἀπέρηυσεν,
ἀνέπληυσεν, as
it is cited in
the Treatise
De vitando ore
alieno.

b I add οὐκ
εἰς before
ἀμνησίαν,
and read
ἐπιβλήσασα
for ὑπεβλήσ-
α.
c For μίμη-
μα, I read
μιμήματα.

*The force of Air, them to the Sea pursues ;
The Sea again upon the Land them spues
The Land(a) to th' Sun ; the Sun to Pits of Air,
And so around, they all in Terrors are.*

Untill being thus chastened and purified, they are again admitted to that Region and Order that suits their Nature. Now such Things, and such like Things as these, they tell us are here meant concerning *Typhon*; how he, moved with Envy and Spight, perpetrated most wicked and horrible things, and putting all things into Confusion, filled both Land and Sea with infinite Calamities and Evils, and afterwards suffered for it condign Punishment. But now the Avenger of *Osiris*, who was both his Sister and Wife, having extinguished and put an end to the Rage and Madness of *Typhon*, did not forget the many Contests and Difficulties she had encountered withal, nor her Wanderings and Travels too and fro, so far as to commit her many Acts, both of Wisdom and Courage *b* to utter Oblivion and Silence, but mixed them with their most Sacred Rites of Initiation, and together consecrated them as Resemblances, dark Hints, and *c* Imitations of her former Sufferings, both as an Example and Encouragement of

of Piety for both Men and Women that should hereafter fall under the like hard Circumstances and Distresses. And now both her self and *Osiris* being for their Vertue changed from good *Dæmons* into Gods, as were (a) *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, after them, they have (and not without just Grounds) the Honours of both Gods and *Dæmons* joyned together; their Power being indeed every where great, but yet more especial and eminent *b* in things upon and under the Earth. For *Sarapis* (they say) is no other than *Pluto*, and *Isis* the same with *Proserpine*, as *Archemachus* of *Eubæa* informs us; as also *c* *Heraclides* of *Pontus*, where he delivers it as his Opinion, that the Oracle at *Canopus* appertains to *Pluto*. Besides, *Ptolemæus*, surnamed *Soter*, *d* For ἀρεῖλας, or *The Saviour*, *d* saw in a Dream the *Colossus* I read ὅραρ ἐν δὲ, of *Pluto* that stood at *Sinope* (although he knew it not, nor had ever seen what Shape it was of) calling upon him, and bidding him to convey it speedily away to *Alexandria*. And as he was ignorant, and at a great Loss where it should stand, and was telling his Dream to his Familiars, there was found by chance a certain Fellow, that had been a general Rambler in all Parts (his Name was *Sofius*) who affirmed he had seen such a *Colossus* as the King had dreamt of, at *Sinope*. He therefore sent *Soteles* and *Dionysos* thither, who in a long time, and with much difficulty, and not without the special Help of a Divine Providence, stole it away, and brought it to *Alexandria*. When therefore it was con-

H

veyed

a For $\omega\phi\delta\mu\nu$, veyed thither, and a viewed, *Timothy* the
 I read $\omega\phi\delta\mu$. *Expositor*, and *Manethos* the *Sebennitto*, con-
 b *Cerberus* cluding from the b *Cerberus* and *Serpent*
 was the Infer- that stood by it, that c it must be the Sta-
 nal *Mercury*, tue of *Pluto*, perswade *Ptolomy* it could ap-
 and the Ser- pertain to no other God but *Serapis*. For
 pent *Typhon*. he had not d this Name when he came
 c For $\epsilon\nu$, I read $\epsilon\nu\alpha\varsigma$. from thence, but after he was removed
 d For $\epsilon\gamma\theta$, to *Alexandria*, he acquired the Name of
 I read $\epsilon\gamma\theta\varsigma$. *Serapis*, which is the *Aegyptian* for *Pluto*.

e I read true
 $\omega\upsilon\tau\delta\varsigma$ for
 $\epsilon\gamma\theta$.

f when they are
 mad and d-liri-
 ous, they come
 to be of this
 Opinion, is ad-
 ded in the
 Greek Copy,
 but I suppose
 it was origi-
 nally but a
 Marginal Re-
 flexion.

g For $\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, I
 read $\tau\epsilon\varsigma$.

b He supposes
 the Name
Charopos to be
 the same with
Sarapis; but
 it comes near-
 er the Greek

Corybas, and the Hebrew *Cherub*, which signifies a carved Statue
 or Figure, which probably might be a Cow, it being a Female
Numen.

Although it must be owned that *Hiraclitus*
 the *Physiologist*, saith, *Pluto* and *Bacchus* are
 e one and the same; (f) for those that will
 needs have *Pluto* to be the Body, the Soul
 being as it were distracted and drunken in
 it, do, in my Opinion, make use of an
 over fine and subtle Allegory. It is there-
 fore better to make *Osiris* to be the same
 with *Bacchus*, and *Sarapis* again with *Osi-*
ris, he obtaining that Appellation since
 the Change of his Nature. For which
 reason, *Serapis* is a common God to all;
 but how they consider *Osiris*, they who
 participate of Divine Matters best un-
 derstand. For there is no reason we should

attend to the Writings of the *Phrygians*,
 which say that g one b *Charopos* was
 Daughter to *Hercules*, and that *Typhon* was
 Son to *Isaacus* Son of *Hercules*; no more
 than we have not to condemn *Philarchus*,
 when he writes that *Bacchus* first brought
 two *Bullocks* out of *India* into *Aegypt*, and

that

that the Name of the one was *Apis*, and of the other *Osiris*. But that *Sarapis* is the Name of him who orders the Universe, from *Sairem*, which some use for *Beautifying* and *Setting forth*. For these Sentiments of *Philarchus's* are very foolish and absurd; but theirs are much more so, who affirm *Sarapis* to be no God at all, but only the Name of the Sore (or Chest) in which *Apis* lies; and that there are at *Memphis* certain great Gates of Copper, called the Gates of *Oblivion* and *Lamentation*, which being opened when they bury the *Apis* make a doleful and hideous Noise; which (say they) is the reason that when we hear any sort of Copper Instrument sounding, we are presently startled and seized with Fear. But they judge more discreetly, ^a who suppose his Name to be derived from *Senesthai*, or *Sousthai* (which signifies *to be born along*) and so make it to mean, that the Motion of the Universe is hurried and born along violently. But the greatest Part of the Priests do say, that *Osiris* and *Apis* are both of them but one complex Being, while they tell us in their Sacred Commentaries and Sermons; that we are to look upon the *Apis*, as the ^b beautiful Image of the Soul of *Osiris*. I, for my part, do believe, that if the Name of *Sarapis* be *Aegyptian*, it may not improperly denote Joy and Merriment, because I find the *Aegyptians* term the Festival which we call *Charmosyna* (or *Merry making*) in their Language ^c *Sairei*. Besides, I find *Plato* to be of Opinion, that *Pluto* is called

^a I add *oi* before *με*, and read *με-τεωτεροι* for *μετεωτεροι*.

^b The Bull called *Apis* was to have a white Star in his Forehead, the better to represent the Sun, whose Spirit dwelt within it.

^c *Shira* in Hebrew is Singing; and *Sarapis* or *Starab*, Dominus Pater, or Princeps Pater;

(a) *Hades Aidoneus* or *Adonis*, was the same with the German *Odin* or *Mars*: it was the Diminutive of *Od* or *God*, which signifies *Good* and *Rich*.
b Amen in *Coptic*, is to receive, and *Tha* to give. I take *Amenthes* to signify simply a *Receptory*.

c They suppose the Soul of *Typhon*, or the *Serpent*, to be in him, as the Soul of *Osiris* was in the Ox. The *Ass* was in more esteem where Horses were scarce.

ed *Hades*, because he is the Son of *Aido* (which is *Modesty*) and because he is a (a) gentle God to such as are conversant with him. And as among the *Aegyptians*, there are a great many other Names that are also Definitions of the Things they express, so they call that Place, whether they believe Mens Souls to go after Death, *b Amenthes*, which signifies in their Language, *The Receiver and the Giver*. But whether this be one of those Names that have been antiently brought over and transplanted out of *Greece* into *Aegypt*, we shall consider some other time. But at present we must hasten to dispatch the remaining Parts of the Opinion here handled. *Osiris* therefore and *Isis* passed from the Number of good *Dæmons* into that of Gods; but the Power of *Typhon* being much obscured and weakned, and himself besides in great dejection of Mind, and in Agony, and, as it were, at the last Gasps, they therefore one while use certain Sacrifices to comfort and appease his Mind, and another while again, have certain Solemnities wherein they abase and affront him, both by mis-handling and abusing such Men as they find to have red Hair, and by breaking the Neck of an *Ass* down a precipice (as do the *Coptites*) because c *Typhon* was Red and of the *Asses* Complexion. Moreover, those of *Busiris* and *Lycopolis*, never make any use of Trumppers, because they give a Sound like that of *Asses*. And they altogether esteem the *Ass* as an Animal, not Clean, but *Dæmoniac*, because
of

of its Resemblance to *Typhon*; and when they make Cakes at their Sacrifices, upon the Months of *Payni* and *Phaophi*, they impress upon them an *Afs Bound*. Also when they do their Sacrifices to the Sun, they enjoyn a such as perform Worship to ^a I read with that God, neither to wear Gold, nor to *Xylander* give Fodder to an *Afs*. It is also most ^{βομηνούς} for apparent, that the *Pythagoreans* look upon ^{ἰσομηνούς.} *Typhon* as a Dæmoniac Power; for they say he was produced in an even Proportion of Numbers, to wit, in that of Fifty Six.

And again, they say that the ^a Property ^b I add εὐσυν of the Triangle appertains to *Pluto*, *Bacchus* or *δύναμιν* and *Mars*; of the Quadrangle, to *Rhea*, after *τετρώ.* *Venus*, *Ceres* and *Vesta*; of Twelve ^{vs.}

Angles, to *Jupiter*; and of ^c Fifty Six, ^c So I read to *Typhon* as *Eudoxus* relates. And be- with *Xylander* cause the *Agyptians* are of Opinion that for 58.

Typhon was born of a ^d Red Complexion, ^d Fire was the they are therefore used to devote to him, *Agyptians* De- such of the Neat Kind as they find to be vil, and Wa- of a Red Colour; and their Observation ter their God. herein is so very nice and strict, that if they perceive the Beast to have but one Hair upon it that is either Black or White, they account it unfit for Sacrifice. For they hold that what is fit to be made a Sacrifice, must not be of a Thing agreeable to the Gods, but contrarywise, such things as contain the Souls of Ungodly and Wicked Men transform'd into their Shapes.

Wherefore in the more ancient of Times, they were wont, after they had pronounced a solemn Curse upon the Head of the Sacrifice, and had cut it off, to fling it

a In Memory
of the more
antient Cu-
stom of sacri-
ficing Men to
Mars, Pluto,
or the Devil.

b That is, *The*
Devil.

c The Hiero-
glyphical
meaning of
this Story, was
that *Moses*
was assisted by
the Devil, in
rescuing the
Israelites out
of *Ægypt*.

d I read *δο-
ξαμένον* for
δυναμένον.

into the River *Nilus* ; but now adays, they distribute it among Strangers. Those also among the Priests that were termed *Sphragistæ* or *Sealers*, were wont to Seal the Beast that was to be offered ; and the engraving of their Seal, was (as *Castor* tells us) (a) a *Man upon his Knees with his Hands tyed behind him, and a Knife set under his Throat*. They believe moreover, that the *Ass* suffers for being like him (as hath been already spoken of) and that as much for the Stupidity and Sensualness of his Disposition, as for the Redness of his Colour. Wherefore, because that of all the *Persian* Monarchs, they had the greatest Aversion for *Ochus*, as looking upon him as a Villanous and Abominable Person, they gave him the Nick-name of the *b Ass*: upon which, he replied : *But this Ass shall dine upon your Ox*, and so he slaughtered the *Apis*, as *Dion* relates to us in his History. As for those that tell us that *c Typhon* was seven days flying from the Battle upon the Back of an *Ass*, and having narrowly escaped with his Life, afterwards begot two Sons, called *Hierosolymus* and *Judeus*, they are manifestly discovered by the very Matter, to wrest into this Fable the Relations of the *Jews*. And so much for the Allegories and secret Meanings which this Head affords us. And now begin we at another Head, which is the Account of those who *d* seem to offer at something more Philosophical ; and of these we will first consider the more simple and plain sort. And they are those

those that tell us, that as the *Greeks* are used to allegorize *Cronos* (or a *Saturn*) into *Chronos* (*a*) *Saturn*, or (*Time*) and *Hera* (or *Juno*) into *Aera* (*Air*) and also to resolve the Generation of *Vulcan* into the Change of *Air* into *Fire*; so also among the *Aegyptians*, *b* *Osiris* is the River *Nilus*, who accompanies with *Isis*, which is the *Earth*, and *Typhon* is the *Sea*, into which the *Nilus* falling, is thereby destroyed and pulled in pieces, excepting only that Part of it which the *Earth* receives and drinks up, by means whereof it becomes prolifick. There is also a kind of a sacred Lamentation used to *c* *Saturn*, wherein they be-
 moan him, *who was born in the Left Side of the World, and died in the Right*. For the *Aegyptians* believe the Eastern part to be the Worlds Face, and the Northern its Right Hand, and the Southern its Left. And therefore the River *Nilus* holding its Course from the Southern Parts towards the Northern, may justly be said to have its Birth in the Left-side, and its Death in the Right. For which reason, the Priests account the Sea abominable, and call Salt *Typhons Foam*. And *d* it is one of the things they look upon as unlawful, and prohibited to them, *to use Salt at their Tables*. And they use not to salute any Pilots, because they have to do with the *e* Sea. And this is not the least reason of their so great aver-
 sedness to Fish. They also make the Picture of a *Fish* to denote *Hatred*. And therefore at the Temple of *Minerva* at *Sais*, there was carved in the Porch an *Infant* and an *Old Man*, and after them a

(a) *Saturn*, or the *Sun*, is the Measure of *Time*, and *Juno*, or the *Moon*, hath great Effects upon the *Air*.
 b The *Aegyptians* believe *Water* to be animated by the Soul of the *Sun*, and the *Earth* by that of the *Moon*.

c *Saturn*, or *Cronos* was called by the *Aegyptians* *Kyrans*, i.e. *Corutus*, he being the same with *Osiris*, and the *Deus Lunus*.

d I read ἐν ἑστῇ for ἑστῇ-
 siv.

e They reckoned the *Sea* as a part of *Amenthes* or *Hell*.

Hawk, and then a *Fish*, and after all, a *Hippotamus* (or *River-Horse*) which in a Symbolical manner, contained this Sentence,

a Here I supply the *Lacuna* thus ;
 ὁ θεὸς μισεῖ
 τὴν ἀναιδέα.
 αὐ. Διὸ γένε-
 σιν μὲν καὶ φθο-
 ρὰν βρέφει καὶ
 γέροντι.
 O ! you that are born, and that dye (*a*) God hateth Impudence. From whence it is plain, that by a *Child* and an *Old Man*, they express our being *Born* and our *Dying*; by a *Hawk*, *God*; by a *Fish*, *Hatred* (by reason of the *Sea*, as hath been before (spoken) and by a *River-Horse*, *Impudence*, because (as they say) he killeth his Sire, and forceth his Dam. That also which the *Pythagoreans* are used to say, which is, that the *Sea* is *The b Tear of Saturn*, *c* may seem to hint out to us, that it is not pure nor congenial with our Race. These then are the Things that may be uttered without Doors and in public, they containing nothing but Matters of Common Cognisance. But now the most Learned and Reserved of the Priests do not term the *Nilus* only *Osiris*, and the *Sea Typhon*; but in General, the whole Principle and Faculty of rendering Moist, they call *d Osiris*, as believing it to be the Cause of Generation, and the very Substance of the Seminal Moisture. And on the other hand, whatever is *Aduſt*, *Fiery*, or any way *Drying* and repugnant to *Wet*, they call *e Typhon*. And therefore, because they believe he was of a Red and Sallow Colour when he was born, they do not greatly care to meet with Men of such Looks, nor willingly converse with them. On the other side again, they Fable that *Osiris*, when he was born, was of a Black Complexion, because that all Water renders

b They fancied their God to dye when he went down to *Amenibes*, and to revive again in the Morning.

c For δῖος, I read δῖος.

d The Inspiration of the Sun causes the fluidness of Water.

e The Serpent or the Enemy, this was their *Mars* or *De-vil*.

renders Earth, Cloaths and Clouds black, when mixed with them; and the Moisture also that is in young Persons, makes their Hair black; but Grayness, like a sort of Paleness, comes up through over much Drought upon such as are now past their Vigour, and begin to decline in Years. ^a I take this In like manner the Spring time is Gay, ^{Mnevis} to be the same with Fecund, and very Agreeable; but the ^{the above} Autumn, through defect of Moisture, is mentioned both destructive to Plants, and sickly to ^{Meinis, Manis} Men. Moreover, the Ox called ^{and Meni,} a *Mnevis*, so by consequence with which is kept at *Heliopolis* (and is Sacred to *Osiris*, and judged by some to be the Sire *Osiris*. Perhaps of *Apis*) is of a coal-black Colour, and is he was of an honoured in the second Place after *Apis*. ^{elder Founda-} ^{tion than *Apis*,} To which we may add, that they call ^{and therefore} *Aegypt* (which is one of the Blackest Soils ^{filed his Sire.} in the World) as they do the black Part ^b That is, *Solar* or *Divine*, of the Eye, ^{*Chamma*, i. e.} *Chemia*. They also represent it by the Figure of a ^{*Hot*, is one of} *Heart*, by reason of its great Warmth and Moisture, the Epithets and because it is mostly enclosed by, and of the *Sun*. removed towards the Southern Parts of ^c This was the Earth, as the Heart is with respect to likewise the a Mans Body. They believe also, that ^{Hieroglyphic} the Sun and Moon do not go in Chariots, of *Heaven*, or but sail about the World perpetually in the *Cœlestial* certain Boats; hinting hereby, at their *Aegypt*. See *Orus Apol.* feeding upon, and springing first out ^d *Oceanns* was more antient- of Moisture. They are likewise of the ly called *Ogen* Opinion, that *Homer*, as well as *Thales*, by the *Greci-* had been instructed by the *Aegyptians*, ^{ans,} and it signified *The Water-God*, he was Son to for that a *Oceanns* is the same with *Osiris*, *Jupiter*. and

a It is probable that *Tethys* is the same with *Serhis* or *Sobhis*, which is *Isis*.

b I read $\pi\rho\acute{o}\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$ for $\pi\rho\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$.

c He was the same with *Jupiter Pluvius*.

d *Hysiris* is but the *Coptic* $\sigma\upsilon\sigma\iota\epsilon\tau$,

i. e. $\delta\ \kappa\acute{o}\rho\Theta$, *Liber*, or *Son*.

For the *Aegyptians* called a Son *Siri*, as the *Greeks* did sometimes

call Male Children $\mu\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha\iota$.

e For $\alpha\epsilon\chi\kappa\lambda\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\alpha\upsilon$, I read $\alpha\rho\chi\lambda\alpha\upsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \epsilon\sigma\alpha\upsilon$.

Palmerius reads $\alpha\rho\chi\epsilon\pi\lambda\alpha\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\upsilon$.

f These Dances were to represent the *Sun's* Motion.

g The Habit of the *Antient*, as well as of the *Modern* *Savages*.

and (a) *Tethys* with *Isis*, so named (from *Tittbe* a Nurse) because she is the Mother and Nurse of all things. For the *Gracians* call the b Emission of the Genital Humor *Apusia* (which signifies *Omizing from one*) and carnal Knowledge *Synusia* (that is, *Mixing of Humors*;) they also call a Son *Hyios*, from *Hydor* Water, and from *Hysai* to Wet; and likewise *Bacchus Hyes* or the c *Wetter*, they looking upon him as the Lord of the Humid Nature, he being no other than *Osiris*. For *Hellanicus* hath set him down d *Hysiris*, affirming that he heard him so pronounced by the Priests; for so he hath written the Name of this God all along in his History; and that in my Opinion, not without good reason, derived as well from his Nature as his Invention. And that therefore he is one and the same with *Bacchus*: who shou'd better know than your self, Dame *Cea*, who are not only e President of the *Delphick* Prophetesses, but have been also, in Right of both your Parents, devoted to the *Osiriack* Rites; And if, for the Sakes of others, we shall think our selves obliged to lay down Testimonies for the Proof of our present Assertion, we shall notwithstanding, remit those Secrets that must not be revealed to their proper Place. But now the things which the Priests do publicly at the Entertainment of the *Apis*, when they carry his Body in a Boat to be buried, do nothing differ from the f Procession of *Bacchus*. For they hang about them the g Skins of Hinds, and carry Branches

Branches in their Hands, and use the same kind of Shoutings and Gesticulations that the Ecstasies do at the Inspired Dances of *Bacchus*. For which reason also, many of the *Greeks* make Statues of (a) *Dionysos Tauromorphos* (or of *Bacchus* in the Form of a Bull.) And the *Elean* Women in their ordinary Form of Prayer, beseech the God to come to them with his *Oxes Foot*. The *Argives* also have a *Bacchus* surnamed *Bugenes* (or *Ox-gotten*;) and they call him up out of the Water by sounding of Trumpets, and flinging a young Lamb into the Abyss, for him that keeps the Door there; and these Trumpets they hide within their *Thyrsi* (or *Green Boughs*) as *Socrates*, in his Treatise of *Rituals*, relates. Likewise the Tales about the *Titans*, and that they call c *The Mystick Night*, have a strange agreement with what they tell us of the Discursions, Resurrections, and Regenerations of *Osiris*; as also what relates to their Sepulchres. For not only the *Egyptians* (as hath been already spoken) do shew in many several Places, the Chests in which d *Osiris* lies; but the *Delphians* also believe, that the Reliques of *Bacchus* are laid up with them just by the Oracle-place; and the *Hosii* (or *Holy Men*) perform a secret Sacrifice within the Temple of *Aspollo*, while the *Thyiades* (or *Prophetesses*) are arising up (e) *The Winnower* (as they call him.) Now that the *Greeks* do not esteem *Bacchus* as the Lord and President of Wine only, but also of the whole Humid Nature *Pindar* alone

a I read *τιν*
ερωσπου Διο-
νυσε in the
Genitive.

b *Herodotus*
saith the *Greek*
Religion came
first out of
Ægypt.

c *The Nocturna Sacra* of
Bacchus, called
Nycteleia.

d The Body of
the Holy Ox
was buried in
many places.

e *Διωνυσος*, or
Fanman; the
Sun is the
Cause of
Winds, and
the Giver of
Corn as well
as of Wine.

alone is a sufficient Witness, when he saith,

a I read
Δένδρον for
Δένδρον.

*My gawdy Bacchus (a) Trees recruit,
Gay Deity of Sommer Fruit.*

b He being a
Father to his
Country as
well as the
Nile.

c The Leaves
of Vines, Figs
and Ivy, are
called in Greek
Thria, because
they consist of
three parts, as
Athenæus in-
forms us. And
these were all
carried about
in the Proce-
sion of *Bacchus*,
called from
them *Thriam-
bos*, or *Trium-
phus* : and it
was a Sacred
Dance, in imi-
tation of the
Sun and Stars,
to give thanks
for the *Fruits*
of the Year.

For which Cause, it is forbidden to such as worship *Osiris*, either to destroy a Fruit-tree, or to stop up a Well. And they call not only the *Nilus*, but in general every Humid, *The Efflux of Osiris*. And a Pitcher of Water goes always first in their Sacred Processions, in Honour of the God. And they make the Figure of a Fig-leaf, both for the *b King* and the *Southern Climate*; which Fig-leaf is interpreted to mean, *The Watering and Spiriting of the Universe*; and it seems to bear some Resemblance *c* in its make to the Virilities of a Man. Moreover, when they keep the Feast of the *Pamyliæ*, which is a *Phallic* or *Priapejan* one (as was said before) they expose to view, and carry about a certain Image of a Man with a threefold Privity. For this God is a first Origin; but now every first Origin doth by its Fecundity multiply what proceeds from it. And we are commonly used instead of *many times*, to say *Thrice*, as *Thrice Happy*, and :

As many Bonds thrice told and infinite.

Unless (by *Jove*) we are to understand the Word *Treble*, as spoken by the Antients in a proper Sense. For the Humid Nature being

being in the beginning the chief Source and Origin of the Universe, must of consequence produce the three first Bodies, the Earth, the Air and the Fire. As for the Story which is here told by way of Surplusage to the Tale; how that *Typhon* threw the Privy of *Osiris* into the River, and *Isis* could not find it, and therefore fashioned and prepared the Resemblance and Effigies of it, and appointed it to be worshiped and carried about in their Processions, like as in the *Grecian Phallegphoria*: all which amounts but to this, to instruct and teach us that the Prolific and Generative Property of this God, had Moisture for its first Matter, and that by means of Moisture, it came to immix it self with things capable of Generation. We have also another Story told us by the *Aegyptians*; how that once (*a*) *Apopis*, Brother to the *Sun*, fell at Variance with *Jupiter*, and made War upon him; but *Jupiter* entring into Alliance with *Osiris*, and by his means overthrowing his Enemy in a pitch Battle, he afterwards adopted him for his Son, and gave him the Name of *Dionysos* (or *Bacchus*.) It is easie to shew that this Fabular Relation borders also upon the Verity of Physical Science. For the *Aegyptians* call the *b* Air *Jupiter*, with which the *Parching* and *Fiery* Property makes War; and though this be not the *Sun*, yet hath it some Cognation with the *Sun*. But now Moisture extinguishing the Excessiveness of Drought, encreases and strengthens the Exhalations of Wet, which give Food and

(*a*) *Apopis*, *Apiu*, *Epaphus* and *Aboba*, as the *Syrians* call him, was the same with *Adonis*, his Name signifies *Pater Maternum*: for *OB* in *Hebrew*, is a Ghost, and *Ab* a Father. *b* Air as well as Water, requires its Animation from the *Sun*.

(a) *Chen ha Sar*, in Hebrew is *Gratia Domini*. This Leaf, by being a *Thrion*, resembles a Mans Virilities.

b For *Πετ-μουε* *πιδ* ⊙

I read *πει-μουε* *η ιδοι* and *η ιδοι* seems a Glos.

c *Arsaphes* is *Mars Pater*, from the Hebrew *Hares Sol ferveſcens*, and *Ab Pater*.

d I read *Μνα-σταν* for

Μνα'ουγ.

e It hath the Name of *Sirius* from *Osiris*, and of *Dog* from *Mercury* or *Anubis*, which was the Sun. And he began his yearly Progress (or Hunting-bout, as they fancied it)

at the rising of this Star, which they therefore called his *Dog*.

and Vigor to the Air. Moreover, the Ivy, which the Greeks use to consecrate to *Bacchus*, is called by the Egyptians (a) *Chenosis*, which Word (as they tell us) signifies in their Language *Osiris's Tree*. *Ariston* therefore, who wrote the Colony of the *Athenians*, b might perchance have light upon a certain Epistle of *Alexarchus's*. *Bacchus* is reported also by the Egyptians, to be the Son of *Isis*, and not to be called *Osiris*, but *Arsaphes* in the Letter *A*, which denotes c *Valiant*. This is hinted at by *Hermæus* also, in his First Book about the Egyptians; for he saith the Name of *Osiris* is to be interpreted *Stout*. I shall now pass by d *Mnaseas*, who joyns *Bacchus*, *Osiris* and *Sarapis* together, and makes them the same with *Epaphus*. I shall also omit *Anticlidés*, who saith, that *Isis* was the Daughter of *Prometheus*, and that she was married to *Bacchus*. For the forementioned Proprieties of their Festivals and Sacrifices afford us a much more clear Evidence than the Authorities of Writers. They believe likewise, that of all the Stars, the (e) *Sirius* (or *Dog*) is proper to *Isis*, because it bringeth on the Flowing of the *Nile*. And they pay Divine Honour to the Lion, and adorn the Gates of their Temples with the yawning Mouths of Lions, because the *Nilus* then Overflows its Banks.

When first the mounting Sun the Lion Meets.

And

And as they term the *Nilus* the *Efflux* of *Osiris*, so they hold and esteem the Earth for the *Body* of *Isis*, and that not all of it neither, but that *a* Part only which the *a* They compared the Rivers overflowing the Grounds to the Suns illuminating the Moon.

Nilus, as it were, leaps, and thereby impregnates and mixes with. And by this Amorous Congress they produce *Orus*. Now this *Orus* is that *Hora* or *Sweet Season* and just Temperament of the Ambient Air, which nourisheth and preserveth all things; and they report him to have been nursed by *b Latona*, in the Marshy Grounds about *Butos*; because moist and watry Land best feeds those exhaled Vapors, which quench and relax Drought and parching Heat. But those Parts of the Country which are outmost, and upon the Confines and Sea-coast, they call *c Nephthys*: *c* *Nephthys* was the same with *Proserpine*, as *Typhon* was with *Pluto*; and therefore the barren and unwatered part of *Ægypt* was sacred to her. *Nephthys* in *Hebrew* is *Aperia* or *Uncovered*, and the *Nephthim* were a Tribe of *Ægyptians*, according to the Scripture.

and therefore they give her the Name of *Teleutæa* (or the *Outmost*) and report her to be married to *Typhon*. And therefore when the *Nilus* is excessive great, and so far passes its ordinary Bounds, that it approaches to those that inhabit the outmost Quarters, they call this *Osiris's* Accompanying with *Nephthys*, found out by the springing up of Plants thereupon: whereof the *Melilot* is one, which (as the Story tells us) being dropt behind and left there, gave *Typhon* to understand the Wrong that had been done to his Bed. Which made them say that *Isis* had a *d* Lawful Son called *Orus*, and *Nephthys* a Bastard, called *Anubis*. And indeed they record in the Successions of their Kings, that *Nephthys* being married to *Typhon*, was at first Barren. Now if they

a The Queen of *Æthiopia*, before called *Thueris* and *Afo*, seems to be no other than *Astarte*, and the *Arabian Venus*, by the Greeks called *Astræa*, and *Nemesis*, by the *Galls* *Andrasie*, and by the *Germans Easter*, and she was no other than the Moon. *Arabia* was the old *Æthiopia*, and the Mother of the New.

b For *oi*. I read *oi* *de*.

they do not mean this of a Woman, but of a Goddess, they must needs hint out, that the Earth, by reason of its Solidity, is in its own Nature, infecund and barren. And the Conspiracy and Usurpation of *Typhon*, will be the Power of the Drought, which then prevails and dissipates that Generative Moisture, that both begets the *Nile*, and encreases it. And the *a* Queen of *Æthiopia*, that abetted his Quarrel, will denote the Southern Winds that come from *Æthiopia*. For when these come to overpower the *Etesia* (or *Anniversary Winds*) which drive the Winds towards *Æthiopia*, and by that means prevent those Showers of Rain which should augment the *Nile* from discharging themselves down, *Typhon* then being rampant, scorseth all, and being wholly Master of the *Nile*, which now through Weakness and Debility, draws in his Head, and takes a contrary Course; he next thrusts him hollow, and sunk as he is into the Sea. For the Story that is told us of the closing up of *Osiris* in a Chest, seems to me to be nothing else but an Imitation of the with-drawing and disappearing of the Water. For which reason, they tell us that *Osiris* was missing upon the Month of *Athyr*; at which time the *Etesia* (or *Anniversary Winds*) being wholly ceased, the *Nile* returns to his Channel, and the Country looks bare: The Night also growing longer, the Darknes encreases, and so the Power of Light fades away, and is overcome. *b* And as the Priests act several other Melancholy things upon

upon this occasion, so they cover a *a Gilded* This was the
Cow with a black Linnen Pall, and thus Δι'μαλιν, or
 expose her to publick View, at the Mourn- golden Calf
 ing of the Goddess, *b* for four days toge- mentioned in
 ther, beginning at the Seventeenth. For the Scripture.
 the things they mourn for are also four; b For they look
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 because the Northern Winds are then quite Isis and of the
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 them; the Third, because the Day is here inserted
 grown shorter then the Night; and the out of the
 Last and Chiefest of all, because of the Margin, and
 Barrenness of the Earth, together with the that corruptly
 Nakedness of the Trees, which then cast too, as appears
 their Leaves. And on the Nineteenth by Petavius's
 Day at Night, *c* they go down to the Sea- Copy.
 side, and the Priests and Sacred Livery bring c For χαΐταις,
 forth the Chest, having within it a little I read χαΐταις.
Golden Ark (or *a Boat*) into which they pour d καβατίον.
 Fresh and potable Water, and all that are
 there present, give a great Shout for joy,
 that *Osiris* is now found. Then they take
e Fertile Mold and stir it about in that e I read γήν
 Water, and when they have mixed with χάρπιμον, for
 it several very costly Odours and Spices, τήν χάρπιμον.
 they form it into a little Image, in fashion
 like a Cressent, and then dress it up in fine
 Cloaths and adorn it, intimating hereby, f The Moon
 that they believe these Gods to be the Sub- of Earth, and
 stance of *f Earth* and *Water*. But *Isis* the Sun of
 again recovering *Osiris*, and rearing up *O-* Water, but
rus, made strong by Exhalations, Mists yet so as to
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 but not Executed; for the Goddess, who as an Herma-
 is Sovereign over the Earth, would not phrodite; for
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Day at Night, *c* they go down to the Sea- *c* For *κα' τεσσα*,
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Golden Ark (or a Boat) into which they pour
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but not Executed; for the Goddess, who phrodite; for
is Sovereign over the Earth, would not so they
thought;

suffer the opposite Nature to Wet to be utterly extinguished, but loosed it and let it go, being desirous the *a* Mixture should continue. For it would be impossible for the World to be compleat and perfect, if the Property of Fire should fail and be wanting. And as these things are not spoken by them *b* without a considerable shew of Reason, so neither have we reason wholly to condemn this other Account which they give us; which is, *That Typhon in the more antient Times, was Masters of Osiris's Portion.* For (they say) *c* Egypt was once all Sea. For which reason, it is found at this Day to have abundance of Fish-shells, both in its Mines, and on its Mountains. And besides that, all the Springs and Wells (which in that Country are extream numerous) have in them a salt and brackish Water, as if some *d* Remainder had run together thither, to be as it were laid up in store. But in process of time *Orus* got the upper hand of *Typhon*; that is, there happen'd such an Opportunity of sudden and tempestuous Showers of Rain, that the *Nilus* pusht the Sea out, and discovered the Champagn-land, and afterwards filled it up with continual Profusions of Mud. All which hath the Testimony of Sense to confirm it. For we see at this Day, that as the River drives down fresh Mud, and lays new Earth unto the old, the Sea by degrees gives back, and the salt Water runs off, as the Parts in the Bottom gain height by new accessions of Mud. We see moreover, that the

a I read *κεῖ-
σις* for *κείσις*.

b For *εἰκό-
τως*, I read
ἀπεικότως.

c That is, the
Lower *Ægypt*.

d For *ὑπό-
λειμμα*, I
read *ὑπο-
λείμματι*.

the Island *Pharos*, which *Homer* observed in his Time to be a whole Days Sayl from *Ægypt*, is now a part of it; nor because it changed its Place, or came nearer the Shore then before; but because the River still adding to, and encreasing the main Land, the intermediate Sea was obliged to retire. To speak the truth, these things are not far unlike the Explications which the *Stoics* use to give of the Gods: for they also say, that the Generative and Nutritive Property of the *a* Air, is called *Bacchus*; the striking and dividing Property *Hercules*; the Receptive Property, *Ammon*; that which passes through the Earth and Fruits, *Ceres* and *Proserpine*; and that which passes through the Sea, *Neptune*. But those who joyn with these Physiologi- cal Accounts, also certain Mathematical *b* Matters relating to Astronomy, suppose *Typhon* to mean the Orb of the *b* Sun, and *Osiris* that of the Moon. For that the Moon, being endued with a prolific and moistning Light, is very favourable both to the breeding of Animals, and the springing up of Plants; but the Sun having in it an immoderate and excessive Fire, burns and drys up such things as grow up and look green, and by its scorching Heat, renders a great part of the World wholly uninhabitable, and very often gets the better of the Moon. For which reason, the *Ægyptians* always call *Typhon* *c* *Seth*, which in their Language signifies a *Domineering* and *Compelling Power*. And they tell us in their Mythology, that *Hercules*

a The Sum of all is, that the Air is the common Vehicle of all the Sun and Moons Influences.

b There is no doubt but that *Typhon* was only a more Antique and rude Draught of *Osiris*, or the Sun: for the Gods of antient Times turned to be the Devils of the later.

c *Seth* and *Sab* are to *Sir* and *Sor*, as *Thoth* is to *Thor*. they all signifie Lord and Father in differing Dialects.

is placed in the Sun, and rides about the World in it, and that *Hermes* doth the like in the Moon. For the Operations of the Moon seem to resemble Reason; and *a* For τὰ δ' ἐν, I read τὰ δέ. to proceed from Wisdom; *a* but those of the Sun to be like unto Strokes, *b* effected by Violence and meer Strength. But the *Stoics* affirm the Sun to be kindled and fed by the Sea, and the Moon by the Waters of Springs and Pools, which send up a sweet and soft Exhalation to it. It is Fabled by the *Egyptians*, that *Osiris's* Death happened upon the Seventeenth Day of the Month, at which time, it is evident that the Moon is at the Fullest. For which reason, the *Pythagoreans* call that Day *Antiphraxis* (or *Disjunction*) and utterly abominate the very Number. For the middle Number XVII. falling in betwixt the square Number XVI. and the oblong Parallelogram XVIII. (which are the only plain Numbers that have their Peripheryes equal with their Area) disjoyns and seperates them from each other; and being divided into equal Portions, it makes the Sesquioctave Proportion. Moreover, there are some that affirm *Osiris* to have lived eight and twenty Years; and others again that say he only reigned so long, for that is the just Number of the Moons Degrees of Light, and of the Days wherein she performs her Circuit. And after they have cleft the Tree at the Solemnity they call *Osiris's Burial*, they next form it into an *Ark* (or *Boat*) in fashion like a *Cressent*, because the Moon, when

when it joyns the Sun, becomes first *a* of *a* I read *μν*-
that Figure, and then vanishes away. *voetst* for *μν*-
Likewise the Description of *Osiris* into *voetst*, ac-
Fourteen Parts, sets forth unto us symboli- cording to
cally, the Number of Days in which that *Petavius*'s
Luminary is decreasing, from the Full to Copy.

the Change. Moreover, the Day upon
which she first appears, after she hath
now escaped the Solar Rays, and passed
by the Sun, they term *Imperfect Good*; for
Osiris is Beneficent; and as this Name hath
many other Significations, so what they
call *Effectuating* and *Beneficent Force*, is
none of the least. *Hermæus* also tells us,
that his other Name *b* of *Omphis*, when *b Omphis* seems
interpreted, denotes a *Benefactor*. They to be the same
moreover believe, that the several Risings in sense with
of the River Nile bear a certain Proportion *Ophi, Apis* and
to the Variations of Light in the Moon. *Amun*.

For they say that its highest Rise, which
is at the *Elephantina* (or the *Isle of Elephants*)
is eight and twenty Cubits high, which is
the Number of its several Lights, and the
Measures of its monthly Course; and that
that at *Mendes* and *Xois*, which is the *c* I read
c lowest of all, is six Cubits high, which *βελυτάτη*
answers the Half-moon; but that the for *βελυτά-*
middlemost Rise, which is at *Memphis*, is *την*.

(when it is at its just Height) fourteen Cu-
bits high, which answers the Full Moon. *d* I add *εασ*
They also *d* say that the *Apis* is *The Living* after *Ἄμμ*.
Image of Osiris, and that he is begotten
when a Prolific Light darts down from *e* *Herodotus*
the Moon, and *e* touches the Cow when she makes it to be
is disposed for Procreation; for which a Flash of
reason, many things in the *Apis* bear Lightning.

Resemblance to the Shapes of the Moon,
a For *περὶ αὐτῆς* it having light Colours, *a* intermixed with
καυνομένης, I shady ones *b* Moreover, upon the Ka-
 read *περὶ μηνὸς* lends of the Month *Phamenoth*, they
ὑμνέουσιν. keep a certain Holy-day, by them called
b For *ἐπὶ τῇ*, I *Osiri's Ascent into the Moon*, and they
 read *ἐπὶ τῇ*. account it the beginning of their Spring.
 Thus they place the Power of *Osiris* in
c I here in- the Moon, *c* and affirm him to be there
 sert *ἐν*. married with *Isis*, which is *Generation*.
 For which cause, they style the Moon, *The*
Mother of the World, and believe her to
 have the Nature of both Male and
 Female; because she is first filled and im-
 pregnated by the Sun, and then her self
 sends forth Generative Principles into the
 Air, and from thence scatters them down
 upon the Earth. For that *Typhonian* De-
 struction doth not always prevail; but is
 very often subdued by Generation, and
 fast bound like a Prisoner, and afterwards
 gets up again and makes War upon *Orus*.
d *Orus* is but *Now this d Orus* is the Terrestrial World,
Osiris over a- which is not wholly exempted from either
 gain, after a Generation or Destruction. But there are
 later Institu- some that will have this Tale to be a
 tion. Figurative Representation of the Eclipses.
 For the Moon is under an Eclipse at the
 Full, when the Sun is in opposition to her,
 because she then falls upon the Shadow of
 the Earth, as they say *Osiris* did into his
 Chest. Besides this, she hides and disap-
 pears of her self upon the Thirtieth Day
 of every Month, but doth not extinguish
 the Sun quite, no more than *Isis* did
Typhon. And when *e Nephthys* was deli-
 vered

e The truth
 is, *Nephthys*
 was but a
 more Antique
 and rougher
 sort of *Isis*.

vered of *Anubis*, *Isis* own'd the Child.
 For *Nephthys* is that Part of the World
 which is below the Earth, and invisible to
 us; and *Isis* that which is above the Earth
 and visible. But that which touches upon
 both a these, and is called the *Horizon* (or *a* For τήρ,
Bounding Circle) and is common to them I read τήρ.
 both is called *Anubis* and resembles in
 Shape the Dog, because the Dog makes
 use of his Sight by Night as well as by Day.
 And therefore *Anubis* seems to me to have
 a Power among the *Aegyptians*, *b* much like *b* For τήρ,
 to that of *Hecate* among the *Grecians*, he I read τήρ.
 being as well Terrestrial as Olympic.
 Some again think *Anubis* to be *c Saturn*; *c* *Saturn* or
 wherefore (they say) that because he *cronos*, in *E-*
 produces all things out of himself, and *gyptian Kyra-*
 breeds them in himself, he had the Name *nis* or *Cornu-*
 of *Kyon* (which signifies in *Greek*, both a same with
Dog and a *Breeder*.) Moreover, those *Hercules* and
 that worship the Dog, have a certain *Moloch*, i. e.
d secret Meaning that must not be here the *Jupiter* of
 revealed. And in the more remote and the antient Sa-
 antient Times, the Dog had the *d* highest vages, and the
 Honour paid him in *Aegypt*; but after same with *Ty-*
 that *Cambyfes* had slain the *Apis*, and thrown *phon*.
 him away contemptuously like a Carrion, *d* Not only for
 no Animal came near to him except the his being a
Dog only; upon this he lost his first *Shepherd* and a
 Honour. and the Right he had of being *Huntsman*, like
 worshipped above other Creatures. There their *Aplo*,
 but chiefly for
 his extraordinary Lascivi-
 oufness and
 Salacity, which was the main Vertue of their *Bacchus* or *Priapus*.
 And therefore they call both the *Dog* and *Mercury*, *Sathi* or *Thoth*,
 which is *Father*.

are also some that will have the Shadow of the Earth, upon which they believe the Moon to fall when eclipsed, to be called *Typhon*. Wherefore it seems to me not to be unconsonant to reason to hold, that each of them a part is not in the right, but all together are. For *a* that it is not

a For *ἔστυν*, I
read *ἔστα*.

Drought, nor *Wind*, nor *Sea*, nor *Darkness*, but every part of Nature that is hurtful or destructive, that belongs to *Typhon*. For we are not to place the first Origins of the Universe in inanimate Bodies, as do *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, nor

b For *ἀπείρου*
ου, I read
ἀπείρου.

to take the Compiler of the *b* unqualified Matter, to be one Discourse and one Forecast, over-ruling and containing all things, as do the *Stoics*. For it is not possible

c For *ἢ καὶ*
φλαῦρον, I
read *ἢ φαῦ-*
λον. *Petavi-*
us's Copy
wants *καὶ*.

for any one thing, *c* whether it be Bad, or whether it be Good, to be the Cause of all things indifferently, where in the mean time God is the Cause of nothing. For the Frame of the World is (as *Heraclitus* speaks) in a State of *Remitency*, like a Harp or Bow; and according to *Euripids* :

*Nor Good, nor Bad, here's to be found apart;
But both immixt in one for greater Art.*

And therefore this most ancient Opinion hath been handed down from the Theologists and Law-givers, to the Poets and Philosophers, it having an Original fathered upon none, having gained a Persuasion both strong and indelible, being every where professed and received by *Barbarians* as well

as

as *Grecians*, and that not only in Vulgar Discourses and Public Fame, but also in their very secret Mysteries and open Sacrifices: That the World is neither hurried about by wild Chance without Intelligence, Discourse and Direction, nor yet that there is but one Reason, which as it were with a Rudder or with gentle and easie Reins, directs it and holds it in; but that on the contrary, there are in it several differing things, and those maid up of bad as well as good; or rather (to speak more plainly) that Nature produces nothing here, but that is mixt and tempered. Not that there is as it were one Store-keeper, who out of *a two* differing Casks, a He alludes to Homer, who seigns Jupiter to have in his House two differing Jars, the one filled with Good Things, and the other with Bad. dispenses to us Human Affairs adulterated and mixed together, as an Host doth his Liquors; but by reason of two contrary Origins and opposite Powers, whereof the one leads to the Right-hand, and in a direct Line, and the other turns to the contrary Hand, and goes athwart, both Human Life is mixed, and the World (if not all) yet that Part which is about the Earth and below the Moon, is become very unequal and various, and liable to all manner of Changes. For if nothing can come without a Cause, and if a good thing cannot afford a Cause of Evil, Nature then must certainly have a peculiar Source and Origin, as of Good, so of Evil. And this is the Opinion of the Greatest and Wisest Part of Mankind. For some believe there are *b two* Gods, b There were two antient Sects in Chaldaea: the Orcheni, which worshipped the Light, and the Borsippeni, which worshipped the Dark. as it were two Rival Workmen; the one whereof

a *Hesychius* saith, that *Mazes* in the *Phrygian* Tongue signifies *Jupiter* and *Great*. *Oromazes* therefore is no other than *Cælum* or *Uranos*, *Ora* being *Light*, and *Mazes* *Great*. He was above called *Mafdes* and *Manis*. b *Mithras* in *Persian* is the *Comparative* Degree of *Mib* (as *Mai*, as *Hesychius* writes it) which signifies *Great*, and so signifies *Prince* or *Lord*. He was no other than *Apollo* or the *Sun*.

whereof they make to be the Maker of Good Things, and the other of Bad. And some call the Better of these *God*, and the other *Demon*; as doth *Zoroastres* the *Magee*, whom they report to be Five Thousand Years elder than the *Trojan* Times. This *Zoroastres* therefore called the one of these a *Oromazes*, and the other *Arimanius*; and affirmed moreover, that the one of them, did of any thing sensible the most resemble *Light*, and the other *Darkness* and *Ignorance*. But that b *Mithras* was in the middle betwixt them. For which Cause the *Persians* call *Mithras* the *Mediator*. And they tell us, that he first taught Mankind to make Vows and Offerings of Thanksgiving to the one, and to offer Averting and Feral Sacrifice to the other. For they beat a certain Plant called *Homomy*, in a Mortar, and call up *Pluto* and the *Dark*; and then mix it with the Blood of a sacrificed Wolf, and convey it to a certain Place where the Sun never shines, and there cast it away. For of Plants, they beleive that some appertain to the Good God, and others again to the *Evil Demon*; and likewise they think, that of Animals such as Dogs, Fowls, and Urchins, belong to the Good; and Water Animals to the Bad, for which reason, they account him happy that kills most of them. These Men moreover tell us a great many Romantic things about these Gods, whereof these are some. They say that *Oromazes* springing from purest Light,

Light, and *a Arimaenius* on the other hand, *a Arimaenius*, from pitchy Darkneſs, theſe two are therefore at War with one another. And that *Oromazes* made ſix Gods, whereof the firſt *Rimmon* or *Remphan*, as the Bible calls him, had his Name in *Syriac* from his Gigantic Height, for *Rim* is *Hig* in Hebrew. He was the ſame with *Moloch* and *Hercules*. The *Egyptians* called him *Armais*, and the *Greeks* *Hermes* and *Danaus*. It is like he was not counted a Devil until the *Magees* founded a better Worſhip than that of *Mars*. breaking a Hole in this beauteous and *b* The *Chaldaean* Sphere had glazed Egg-shell, bad things came by this means to be intermixed with good. But *XXIV*. Signs upon the Meridian alſo; for they believed the World to be Oblong, like an Egg. Hence the Number of *XXIV*. Elders in ancient Cities. *c* The *Magi* ſerved the *Babylonians* and *Persians* in their Deſign of an univerſal Monarchy.

a That is, the
Barbarous and
the Civil Fa-
ctions in those
Parts, viz, The
Scythians and
Persians, &c.

b For *χερνω*
χαλως, I read
χερνον αλλο-
ως.

c I add here
εασι.

d For *αγαθιν*,
I read *αγα-*
θω.

nion of the *Magees*, *a* each of these Gods subdues, and is subdued by turns, for the space of three thousand years a piece, and that for three thousand years more, they quarrel and fight, and destroy each others Works; but that at last, *Pluto* shall fail, and Mankind shall be happy, and neither need Food nor yield a Shadow.

And that the God, who projects these things, doth, *b* for some time, take his Repose and Rest; but yet this time is not much to him, although it seem so to Man, whose Sleep is but short. Such then is the Mythology of the *Magees*. But

c I add here the *Chaldeans* *c* say there are Gods of the Planets also, two whereof, they style Benefics, and two Malefics; the other three they pronounce to be common and indifferent. As for the *Grecians*, their Opinions are obvious and well known to every one, to wit, that they make the part of the *d* good God to appertain to *Jupiter* *Olympius* and that of the *Averruncus* (or *Hateful Demon*) to *Pluto*, and likewise, that they fable *Harmonia* to have been begotten by *Venus* and *Mars*, the one whereof is rough and quarrelsome, and the other sweet and amorous. In the next place, consider we the great Agreement of the Philosophers with these People. For *Heraclitus* doth in plain and naked terms call *War* the Father, the King, and the Lord of all things; and saith, that *Homer*, when he thus pray'd,

Discord be damn'd from Gods and Human Race,

Little

Little thought he was then cursing the Origination of all things, they owing their Rise to Averſation and Quarrel. He also a ſaith, that the Sun will never exceed his proper Bounds, and if he ſhould, that *a* I here inſert $\phi\eta\sigma\iota$.

Tongues, Aids of Juſtice ſoon will find him out

Empedocles alſo call the Benefic Principle Love and Friendſhip, and very often *b* Sweet look'd Harmony, & the Evil Principle: *b* I read $\iota\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ for

Pernicious Enmity and bloody Hate.

$\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\gamma\iota$, out of his Fragments.

The *Pythagoreans* uſe a great number of Terms as Attributes of theſe two Principles; of the Good, they uſe the *Unite*; *c* the *Terminate*, the *Permanent*, the *Streight*, *c* I add $\tau\acute{o}$. the *Odd*, the *Square*, the *d* *Equal*, the *Dexter*, and the *Lucid*; and again of the Bad, *d* $\tau\acute{o}$ $\iota\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ is well added the *Two*, the *Interminate*, the *Fluent*, the here by *Xyland*. *Crooked*, the *Even*, the *Oblong*, the *Unequal*, the *Sineſter*, and the *Dark*; inſomuch that all theſe are lookt upon as Principles of Generation. But *Anaxagoras* made but two, the *Intelligence* and the *Interminate*; and *Aristotle* called the firſt of theſe *Form*, and the latter *Privation*. But *Plato* in many places, as it were ſhading and veiling over his Opinion, names the one of theſe *e* For $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$, I read $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\chi\acute{\iota}\sigma\mu\epsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ with *Xylander*. *opposite Principles The ſame*, and the other the *Tother*. But in his Book of Laws, when he was now grown old, he affirmed (and that not in Riddles and Emblems, as uſual, but) in plain and proper Words, that the World is not moved by one Soul, but perhaps by a great many, but not by fewer

fewer than Two; the one of which is Beneficent, and the other contrary to it, and the Author of things contrary. He also leaves a certain Third Nature in the midst between, which is neither without Soul, nor without Discourse, nor void of a self moving Power, as some suppose; but communicates with both Principles; but yet so as still to affect, desire and pursue the better of them, as I shall make out in the ensuing part of this Discourse, in which I design to reconcile the Theology of the *Egyptians*, principally with this sort of Philolophy. For the Frame and Constitution of this World is made up of contrary Powers but yet such as are not of so equal Strength, but that the Better is still Predominate. But it is impossible for the Ill one to be quite extinguished, because much of it is interwoven with the Body, and much with the Soul of the Universe, and it always maintains a fierce Combat with the better Part. And therefore that Intellect and Discourse in the Soul of the World, which is the Prince and Master of all the best things is *Osiris*: And in the Earth, in the Winds, in the Waters, in the Heaven, and in the Stars, what is ranged, fixed, and in a sound Constitution (as orderly Seasons, due Temperament of Air, and the Revolutions of the Stars) is the *a* Efflux and appearing Image of *Osiris*. Again, the Passionate, *Titanic*, Irational and Brutal Part of the Soul is *Typhon*, and what in the Corporeal Nature, is Adventitious, Morbid and Tumultuous,

a This is the
Platonists
λογος Δημιουργος, or the
Fabricator
of the
World.

multuous (as *(a)* Irregular Seasons, Distemperatures of Air, Eclipses of the Sun, and Disappearings of the Moon) is as it were the Incurfions and Devastations of *Typhon*. *b* For *ἡ τυφὼν* And the Name of *c* *Seth*, by which they call *Typhon*, declares as much; for it denotes a *Domineering and Compelling Power*, and also very often an *Overturning*, and again a *Leaping over*. There are also some that say that *Bebon* was one of *Typhons* Companions; but *Manethos* saith, *Typhon* himself was called *Bebon*. Now that Name signifies *d* *Restraining & Hindring*; as who should say, while all things march along in a regular Course, and move steadily toward their natural End, the Power of *Typhon* stands in their way and stops them. For which reason they assign him, of all the tame Beasts, the most brutal and sortish, the *As*: and of all the wild Beasts, the most savage and fierce, the *Crocodile* and *River-Horse*. Of the *As*s we have spoken already. They shew us at *Hermopolis*, the Statue of *Typhon*, which is *A River-Horse with a Hawk upon his Back, fighting with a Serpent*: where they set out *Typhon* by the *Horse*, and by the *Hawk* that Power and Principle, the which, when *Typhon* possesses himself of by Violence, he becomes oftentimes sedate and undisquieted, being neither disturbed himself by the Malignant Nature within him, nor disturbing others. For which reason also, when they are to offer Sacrifice upon the Seventh Day of the Month *Tybi*, which they call, *(e)* *The Arrival of Isis out of Phœnice*, they print the

a For *ἀθεΐαις* I read *ἀθεΐ-*

b For *ἡ τυφὼν* I read *ἡ τυφὼν*.

c *Seth* or *Soth*, is the same with *Tbeth*, which signifies The Father or Lord.

d The Name of *Bebon* is better derived from the Oriental Word *Baba*, which signifies a Hole or Cavity: His Temples being like his Nature, subterraneous; and the Pillars of *Seth* were in these *Syringes* or *Vaults*, and not in *Lyria*, as is commonly supposed.

e The *Phœnicians* and *Ægyptians* were one People, and of one Religion, and *Isis* was the same with the *Dea Syria*.

River.

a The LXX.
took *Leviathan* in *Job* to
be the Devil.

River-Horse bound upon their Sacred Cakes. Besides this, there is a constant Custom at the *Town of Apollo*, for every one to eat some part of a *Crocodile*; and having upon a certain set Day, hunted down as many of them as they are able, they kill them and throw down their Carcasses before the Temple. And they tell us that *Typhon* made his escape from *Orus* in the Form of a *Crocodile*; for they make all bad and noxious things, whether Animals, Plants or Passions, to be the *Works*, the *Members*, and the *Motions* of *Typhon*. On the other hand, they represent *Osiris* by an *Eye* and a *Scepter*, the one whereof expresses *Forecast*, and the other *Power*. In like manner *Homer*, when he calleth the Governour and Monarch of all the World,

Supreamest Jove, and mighty Counsellor,

b For ὁ δὴ
λόγος, I read
ὁ δὴ λόγος, ποι-
εῖν. The *Ba-
sil* and *Al-
dine* Editi-
ons have ὁ
instead of ὁ.

Seems to me to denote his Impery by *Supreme*, and his Well-advisedness and Discretion by *Counsellor*. They also oftentimes describe this God by a *Hawk*, because he exceeds in quickness of Sight, and Velocity of Flying, and easily digests his Food. He is also said to fly over the Bodies of Dead Men that lay unburied, and to drop down Earth upon their Eyes. Likewise when he alights down upon the Bank of any River to assuage his Thirst, he sets his Feathers up on end, and after he hath done Drinking, he lets them fall again. *b* Which he plainly doth because he is now safe, and escaped from the danger

ger of the *Crocodile*; for if he chances to be caught, his Feathers then continue stiff as before. They also shew us every where *Osiris's* Statue in the Shape of a Man, with his private Part erect, to betoken unto us his Faculty of Generation and Nutrition; and they dress up his Images in a *a* Flame coloured Robe, esteeming the Sun as *the Body of the Power of Good*, *b* and as *the Visible Part of Intelligible Substance*. Wherefore we have good reason to reject those that ascribe the Sun's Globe unto *Typhon*, to whom appertaineth nothing of a Lucid or Salutory Nature, nor Order, nor Generation, nor Motion attended with Measure and Proportion, but the clean contrary to them. Neither is that parching Drought *c* which destroys many Animals and Plants, to be accounted as an Effect of the Sun; but of those Winds and Waters, which in the Earth and Air, are not tempered according to the Season, at what time the Principle of the Unordered and Intermixt Nature, acts at random, and so stifles and suppresses those Exhalations that should ascend. Moreover, in the Sacred Hymns of *Osiris*, they call him up, *d* who lyes hid in the Arms of the *d* Sun. And upon the Thirtieth Day of the Month of *Epithi*, they keep a certain Festival called *the Birth-day of the Eyes of Osiris*, at what time the Sun and the Moon are in one direct Line, as esteeming not only the Moon, but also the Sun to be the Eye and Light of *e* *Orus*. Likewise the Two and Twentieth Day of the

a For ἀμπε-
χόν δε φλο-
ροειδὴς σέλλα-
σα, I read
ἀμπεχόν δε
φλοροειδὴ
σέλλου.
b I insert κ
in this
place.
c For οἶς, I
read ὄς.
d This shews
Osiris to be
the same with
Hercules, who
was said above
to go about in
the Sun.
e This proves
Orus to be the
same with his
Father *Osiris*.

K Month

Month *Phaophi*, they make to be *The Nativity of the Starves of the Sun*, which they observe after the Antumnal *Æquinox*, intimating hereby, that he now *a* wants, as it were, a *b* Prop and a Stay, he suffering a great Diminution both of Heat and Light, by his declining and moving obliquely from us. Besides this, they lead the Sacred Cow seven times about her Temple, at the time of the Winter Solstice. And this going round is called *The Seeking of Osiris*, *c* the Goddess being in great Distress for Water in Winter time. And the reason of her going so many times round is because *d* the Sun finishes his Passage from the Winter to the Summer Tropic in the Seventh Month. It is reported also, that *e* *Orus* the Son of *Isis*, was the first that ever sacrificed to the Sun upon the Fourth Day of the Month, as we find it written in a Book, called *The Birth-Days of Orus*. Moreover, they offer Incense to the Sun three times every Day; *Resin* at his Rising, *Myrrh* when he is in the Mid Heaven, and that they call *Kyphi*, about the time of his Setting: (what each of these mean, I shall afterwards explain.) Now they are of Opinion, that the Sun is atton'd and pacified by all these. But to what purpose should I heap together many things of this Nature? For there are some that scruple not to say plainly, that *Osiris* is the Sun, and that he is called *f* *Sirius* by the *Greeks*, although the *Egyptians* adding the Article to his Name, have obscured and brought its Sense into question. They also

a This proves the Lame and Dumb *Harpoocrates* to be the Sun.

b I leave out the former *ενδεα*.

c I leave out *τα υδα*, it being but a Marginal Gloss.

d Here I add *ο υδαι*.

e That is, the Priests of *Orus*, who were founded by those of *Isis*.

f *Sirius* is frequently used by the Poets for the Sun.

also *a* declare *Isis* to be no other than the *a* For *ἀπο-*
Moon, and say that such statues of hers as *καίνορες ἐν*,
are horned, were made in imitation of the *l* read *ἀπο-*
Cressent; and that the black Habit, in *καίνορας*
which she so passionately pursues the *Sun*, *ἥναι*.
sets forth her Disappearings and Eclipses.

For which reason they use to invoke the *b* *Typhon* was
Moon in Love Concerns; and *Eudoxus* al. the *Sun* of the
so saith, that *Isis* presides over Love Mat- the *Sun* of the
ters. Now these things have in them ancient Sava-
a shew and semblance of Reason; but they make him Pi-
that would make *b* *Typhon* to be the *Sun*, *Argos*, and call
deserve not to be heard. But we must a him *Typhis*.
gain resume our proper Discourse. *c* *Isis* in the
is indeed the Female Property of Nature, *Coptic* Tongue
and her Receptivity of all Production, in *celsta* or *Subla-*
which Sense she was called the *Nurse*, and *ta*, which
the *All-receiver* by *Plato*, and *Myrionymos* (or shews her to
the *Goddess with ten thousand Names*) by the same with *v-*
common sort, because that being trans- *rania*, or *Ce-*
muted by *The Discourse*, she receives, all *lestia* *Venus*
manner of *Shapes* and *Guises*. But she and the *Moon*.
hath a Natural Love to the Prime and The *Pythago-*
Principal of all Beings (which is the same reams called
with the Good Principle) and eagerly at- the *Moon* the
fects it, and pursues after it; and she *Aetherial*
shuns and repels the Part of the Evil one: *Earth*, and at-
And although she be indeed both the Re- tributed all
ceptacle and Matter of either Nature, yet terrestrial
she always of her self inclines to the Ber- Mitter to her.
ter of them, and readily gives way to it The *Priests*
to generate upon her, and to sow its *Es-* called *Egypt*
fluxes and *Resemblances* into her, and she the *Body* of
rejoyses, and is very glad when she is im- *Isis* for the
pregnated and filled with Productions. same reason.
For a Production is an Image of the *Real* She was the
Substance. *gyptian* is the
Algon.

a Here I
add 2.

b So that *Osiris*, *Isis* and *Orus*, that is, *Mind*, *Matter* and the *Universe* made up the *Pythagorean* and *Platonic Triad*.

c For *περι-
ποιτα* & *ψι-
και* I read
περιγενται &
ψικα.

Substance upon Matter, and what is generated is an Imitation of what is in Truth. And therefore they do not without great Consonancy, fable the Soul of *Osiris* to be eternal and incorruptible but that his Body is often torn in pieces and destroyed by *Typhon*; and that *Isis* wandersto and fro to look him out, and when she hath found him, puts him together again. For the Permanent Being, the Mental Nature, and the Good is it self above Corruption and Change; but the sensitive and corporeal Part, takes off certain Images from it, and receives certain Proportions, Shapes and Resemblances, a which like Impressions upon Wax, do not continue always, but are swallowed up by the Disorderly and Tumultuous Part, which is chased hither from the upper Region, and makes War with *Orus*, who is born of *Isis*, being the b Image of the Mental World. For which reason he is said to be prosecuted for Bastardy by *Typhon*, as not being pure and entire, and alone by himself (like his Father the *Discourse*, nor unmixt and impassible, but embased with Matter by Corporeity. c But he gets the Better of him, and carries the Cause: *Hermes*, that is, The *Discourse*, witnessing and proving, that Nature produces the World by becoming her self of like Form with the Mental Property. Moreover, the Generation of *Apollo* by *Isis* and *Osiris*, while their Deities were yet in *Rhea's* Womb, hints out unto us, that before this World became visible and was completed

pleated *a* by *The Discourse*; Matter being *a* I add *ἔτι* convinced by Nature, that she was im- before *λόγῳ*, perfect alone, brought forth the first Production. For which reason they also say, that Cripple Deity was begotten in the Dark, and they call him *The b Elder Orus*; *b* *Οὐρ Αἰωνίου*: for he was not the World, but a kind of *a* he is called in Picture and Phantom of the World to be. *Eusebius, Augueris*, and But this *Orus* is Terminate and Compleat of himself, yet hath he not quite destroyed *Typhon*, but only taken off his over great Activity and Brutal Force. Whence it is that they tell us, that at *Coptos*, the Statue of *Orus* holds fast in his Hand the Privities of *Typhon*; and they Fable that *Mercury* took out *Typhons* Sinews, and used them for Harp-strings, to denote unto us, that when *The Discourse* composed the Universe, it made one Concord out of many Discords, and did not abolish, but accomplish the Corruptible Faculty. Whence it comes that being weak and feeble in the present State of things, it blends and mixes with crazy and mutable Parts of the World, and so becomes in the Earth the Causer of Concussions and Shakings; *c* and *c* For *καὶ* in the Air, of parching Droughts and Tem- *αὐχμῶν καὶ ἐν* pestuous Wind, as also of Hurricanes, and *ἀέρι δὲ, ἢ* Thunders. It likewise infects both Waters read *αὐχμῶν* and Winds with pestilential Diseases, & runs *δὲ ἐν ἀέρι* up, and insolently rages as high as the very See the Edi- Moon, suppressing many times, and blacken- tion of *Al-* ing the Lucid Part; as the *Ægyptians* believe *aus*. and relate, that *Typhon* one while smote *Orus's* Eye, and another while pluckt it out and swallowed it up, and afterwards gave it back to the *Sun*; intimating by the *Blow*,

a For *παύω* the Monthly Diminution of the Moon,
σιν, I read *a* *Blinding* of him, it's Eclipse;
πύρωσιν.

εἰδω.

c For *τὸ π*, I
 read *εἰς τὸ*
διπλόν.

and by the *a* *Blinding* of him, it's Eclipse;
 which the Sun cures again by shining pre-
 sently upon it, as soon as it hath escaped
 from the Shadow of the Earth. Now the
 better and more Divine Nature consists of
Three; of the Intelligible Part, of Matter,
 and of that which is made up of both,
 which the *Greeks* call *Cosmos* (that is, *Trim-
 ness*) and we the *World*. *Plato* therefore
 uses to name the Intelligible Part the *a* *Form*,
 the *Sample*, and the *Father*, and Matter the
Mother, the *Nurse*, and the *Seat and Recep-
 tacle of Generation*: and that again, which
 is made up of both, the *Off spring* and the
Production. And one would conjecture that
 the *Aegyptians* called it the most perfect of
Triangles, because they likened the Na-
 ture of the *Universe* principally to that;
 which *Plato* also in his *Common-wealth*
 seems to have made use of *c* to the same
 purpose, when he forms his *Nuptial Dia-
 gram*. Now that *Diagram* consists of three
Angles, whereof that which makes the
Right Angle Consists of three Parts, the
Base of four, and the *Subtense* of five, be-
 ing equal in value with the two that con-
 tain it. We are therefore to take the
Perpendicular, to represent the *Male Pro-
 perty*, the *Base* the *Female*, and the *Sub-
 tense* that which is produced by them both.
 We are likewise to look upon *Osiris* as the
First Cause, *Isis* as the *Faculty of Reception*,
 and *Orus* as the *Effect*. For the Number
Three is the first odd and perfect Number,
 and the Number *Four* is a Square, having
 for

for its Side the Even Number *Two*. The Number *Five* also in some respects resembles the *Father*, and in some again the *Mother* being made up of *Three* and *Two*; besides, *Panta* (*All things*) seems to be derived from *Pente* (*Five*) and they use *Pempasasthai* (which is a telling *Five*) for *Counting*. Moreover the Number *Five* make a Square equal to the Number of Letters used among the *Egyptians*, as also to the Number of Years which *Apis* lived. They are also used to call *Orus* *c Kai-mis*, which signifieth as much as *Seen*; for the World is preceptible to Sense, and visible; and *Isis* they sometimes call *Muth*, and sometimes again *Athyri*, and sometimes *Methuer*. And by the First of these Names they mean a *Mother*, by the Second *Orus's Mundan House* (as *Plato* calls it, *The Place and the Receptacle of Generation*) but the Third is compounded of two Words, the one whereof signifies *Full*, and the other the *Cause*; for the Matter of the World is full, and it is closely joyned with the good, and pure, and well ordered Principle. And it may be *Hesiod* also, when he makes the first things of all to be *Chaos*, *Earth*, *Hell* and *Love*, may be thought to take up no other Principles then these, if we apply these Names as we have already disposed them, to wit, that of *Earth* to *Isis*, that of *Love* to *Osiris*, and that of *Hell* to *Typhon*; for he seems to lay the *Chaos* under all, as a kind of *Room* or *Place* for the World to lye in. And the Subject we

^a The Number of Fingers upon one Hand.

^b For ^δ ^α ^π ^ι ^ς ^ο ^υ, I read ^δ ^α ^μ ^ι ^ς ^τ ^ι ^ν. ^c *Kaim* in the *Syrice*, is *Redivivus*.

^d And *Mud* or *Wet*. ^e *Ath Ura*, is *Domus Ori vel Regis*, in the *Coptic* Tongue.

^f *Methuer* is an Epithet of *Isis*, or the Moon, and it seems to me to be the same with the Hebrew *Meth Uer*, i. e. *Dead and awake again*; to denote her Mutations.

^g For ^π ^α ^ι ^ν ^τ ^α, I read ^π ^α ^ι ^ν ^τ ^α.

a I read
 ἀνήμεν for
 μακρον out
 of Plato.

b 'Aeternus.

c It is plain
 from hence,
 that he ac-
 counts Matter
 and Form to
 be but Ro-
 mantic or
 Mythologic
 Principles, and
 not real ones.

are now upon, seems in a manner to call for *Plato's Tale*, which *Socrates* tells us in the *Symposion* about the Production of *Eros*, (or *Love*,) where he saith, how that once on a Time, *Penia* (or *Poverty*) having a mighty desire of Children, laid her down by *Porus* (or *Plenty's*) Side as he was asleep, and that she thereupon conceiving by him, brought forth *Eros*, who was by Nature both frowzy and very cunning, as coming of a Father that was Good and Wise, and had Sufficiency of all things, but of a Mother that was very Needy and Poor, and that by reason of her Indigence, still hankered after another, and was eagerly importunate for another. For this same *Porus* is no other then the First Amiable, Desirable, Compleat and Sufficient Being; and Matter is that which he called *Penia*, she being of her self alone destitute of the Property of Good, and (when impregnated by it) she still desires and craves for more. Moreover, the World, or *Orus*, that's produced out of these two, being not Eternal, nor Impassible, nor Incorruptible, but *b Ever a-making*, therefore Machinates partly by shifting of Accidents, and partly by Circular Motions, to remain still Young and never to dye. But we must remember that we are not to make use of Fables as if they were Doctrinal throughout, but only to take that in each of them, which we shall judge to make a pertinent Resemblance. And therefore when we treat of *c Matter*, we need not (with respect to the Sentiments of some Philosophers)

phers) to conceit in our Minds a certain Body devoid of Soul and of all Quality, and of it self wholly idle and unactive. For we use to call Oyl the Matter of an Unguent, and Gold the Matter of a Statue, though they are not destitute of all a Quality. And we render the very Soul

a For *ἡμοῖς*
πῶς ⊙. I read
πῶς πῶς ⊙.

and Mind of Man to Discourse, to be drest up and composd into Science and Vertue. There have been some also that have made the Mind to be a Receptacle of Forms, and a kind of an *b* Imprimery for things intelligible; and some are of Opinion again, that the Genital Humidity in the Female Sex is no active Property, nor efficient Principle; but only the Matter and Nutriment of the Production. The which, when we retain in our Memories, we ought to conceive likewise, that this Goddess, which always participates of the First God, and is ever taken up with the Love of those Excellencies and Charms that are about him, is not by Nature opposite to him; but that

b *ἐκμαχέιον*.

as *c* we are used to say of a very good natured Woman, that (though she be married to a Man, and constantly enjoys his Embraces) yet she hath a fond kind of Longing after him; so hath she always a strong Inclination to the God, though she be present and round about him, and though she be impregnated with his most prime and pure Particles; and that moreover where *Typhon* falls in and touches upon her extream Parts, it is there she appears inelancholy, and is said to mourn, and to

c Here is inserted out of the Margin these Words, *To love a Lawful and just Husband is accounted a piece of justice, and therefore I have omitted it.*

look

look for certain Relics and Pieces of *Osiris*, and to wrap them up carefully in fine Cloath; she receiving all things that dye and laying them up within her self, as she again brings forth and sends up out of her self all such things as are produced.

a λόγοι.

And those *a* Proportions, Forms and Effluxes of the God that are in the Heaven and Stars, do indeed continue always the same, but those that are sown abroad into mutable things, as into Land, Sea, Plants and Animals are *b* resolved, destroyed and buried, and afterwards shew themselves again very often, and come up a new in several different Productions. For which reason, the Fable makes *Typhon* to be married to *Nephthys*, and *Osiris* to have accompanied with her by stealth. For

b For διαλυόμενα I read διαλυόμενα.

c The extreame Parts of *Ægypt*, which were never covered by the *Nilus*, were reckoned the Body of *Nephthys* or *Proserpine*, as the other Parts the Body of *Isis*. But the Philosophical Priests carried this Notion higher.

d *Isis* may be strain'd to signify both *Going* and *Science*.

the outmost and most extreame Parts of Matter which they call *c* *Nephthys*, and the *End* is mostly under the Power of the Destructive Faculty, but the Fecund and Salutary Power despatches but a feeble and languid Seed into those Parts, and it is all destroyed by *Typhon*, except only what *Isis* taking up doth preserve, cherish and improve: But in the mean, *Typhon* is still the prevailing Power, as both *Plato* and *Aristotle* insinuate. Moreover, the Generative and Salutary Part of Nature hath its Motion towards him, and in order to procure Being; but the Destroying and Corruptive Part hath its Motion from him, and in order to procure Not being. For which reason, they call the former Part *d* *Isis*, from *Going* and being *Born-along* with

Knowledge;

Knowledge; she being a kind of a living
 and prudent Motion. For her Name is
 not of a Barbarous Original; but as all
 the Gods have one Name (*a*) *Theos* in *a Theos*, or ac-
 common, and that is derived from the cording to the
 two first Letters of *Theon* (*Runner*) and of more antient
Theatos (*Visible*) so also this very Goddess *Laconic Dia-*
 is both from *Motion* and *Science* at once call- lect *Sior*, is
 ed *Isis* by us, and *Isis* also by the *Ægypti-* the same with
ans. So *Plato* likewise tells us, that the *Tbor, Sar,* and
 Antients opened the Nature of the Word *Sirius*, and sig-
 (*b*) *Usia* (or *Substance*) by calling it *Isia* *nifies Lord and*
 (that is, *Knowledge* and *Motion*;) as also *Sire.*
 that *Noësis* (*Intellection*) and *Phronesis* (*Dis-* *b* I read *eu-*
cretion;) had their Names given them for *ois* for *ois*.
 being a *Phora* (or *Agitation*) and a kind
 of *Motion* or *Nis* (or *Mind*) which was
 then as it were *Hiemenos* and *Pheromenos*
 (that is, *moved* and *agitated*) and the like
 he affirmeth of *c Synienai* (which signifies
To understand) that it was as much as to *c* For *τῷ*, I
 say, *To be in Commotion*. Nay, he saith read *τῷ*.
 moreover, that they attribute the very
 Names of the *Agathon* (or *Good*) and of *A-*
rete (or *Vertue*) to the *Theantes* (or *Runners*)
 and the *Euroantes* (or *d Well-movers*.) As *d* I read *eu-*
 likewise on the other hand again, they *εὔρον* for *εὐ-*
 used Terms opposite to Motion by way of *ρον*
 reproach; for they called *e* what clogged, *e* For *κατὰ*,
 tyed up, locked up, and confined Nature I read *κῆ*.
 from *Jesthai* and *Jenai* (that is, from *Ag-*
itation and *Motion*) *Kakia* (*Baseness* or *Ill*
Motion) *Aporia* (*Difficulty* or *Difficult Moti-*
on) *Deilia* (*Fearfulness* or *Fearful Motion*)
 and *Ania* (*Sorrow* or *want of Motion*) But
Osiris had his Name from *Hosion* and *Hie-*
 ron

a With relation to the *Manes*. Antients thought fit to style *Hiera* (or *Sacred*) and the latter *Hosia* (or a *Pious*). But that *Discourse* which discloses things Heavenly, and which appertains to things whose Motion tends *Ano* (or *Upwards*) is called *Anubis*, and sometimes he is also named *Hermanubis*, the latter part of his

b Because *Hermes*, *Armau*, or *Armain*, as the *Egyptians* called him, differed not from *Arimanius* and *Typhon*.

c Yet there must be great Prudence in distinguishing such Words.

d The Priests did never put their own Names to the Sacred Books, but that of their God *Hermes*: See *Famblickus de Mysteriis Egyptiorum*.

ron compounded together: for the *Discourse* is common both to Cæstrial and Subterrestrial Beings; the former of which, the Antients thought fit to style *Hiera* (or *Sacred*) and the latter *Hosia* (or a *Pious*). But that *Discourse* which discloses things Heavenly, and which appertains to things whose Motion tends *Ano* (or *Upwards*) is called *Anubis*, and sometimes he is also named *Hermanubis*, the latter part of his Name referring to things *Above*, and the former to things *b Beneath*. For which reason they also sacrifice to him two Cocks, the one whereof is white, and the other of a Saffron Colour, as esteeming the things above to be entire and clear, and the things beneath to be mixt and various. Nor need any one to wonder at the Formation of these Words from the *Grecian* Tongue, for there are many *c* Thousand more of this kind which accompanying those who at several times removed out of *Greece*, do to this very day sojourn and remain among Foreigners; some whereof, when Poetry would bring back into use, it hath been falsely accused of Barbarism by those Men, who love to call such Words *Glosses* (or *Tongues*.) They say moreover, that in the Books *d* inscribed to *Hermes*, there is an account given about the sacred Names, how that Power which presides over the Circulation of the Sun, is called *Orus*, and by the *Greeks*, *Apollo*, and that which is over the Winds is by some called *Osiris*, and by others again *Sarapis*, and by others *Sothi*,

Sothi, in the *Ægyptian* Tongue. Now the Word signifies in *Greek* *Kyein* (to Breed) and *Kyesin* (Breeding) and therefore by an Obligation of the Word *Kyein*, the Star which they account proper to the Goddess *Isis* is called in *Greek* *Kyon* (which is as well *Dog* as a Breeder.) And although it be but a fond thing to be over contentious about Words yet I had rather yield to the *Egyptians* the Name of *Sarapis* then that of *Osiris*: *b* I therefore account the former to be foreign, and the latter to be *Greekish*, but believe both to appertain to one God and to one Power. And the *Egyptian* Theology seems to favour this Opinion. For they oftentimes call *Isis* by the Name of *c Minerva*, which in their Language expresseth this Sentence, *I came from my self*, which is significative of a Motion proceeding from it self. But *Typhon* is called (as hath been said before) *Seth*, *Bebon* and *d Smu*, which Names would insinuate a kind of a forcible *Re-straint*, and an *Opposition* and *Subversion*. Moreover, they call the Load-stone *Orus's Bone*, and *Iron Typhon's Bone*, as *Manethos* relates. For as the Iron is oftentimes like a thing that were drawn to, and that followed the Load-stone, and oftentimes again flies off and recoils to the opposite Part, so the Salutory, the Good and the Discursive Motion of the Universe doth, as by a gentle Perswasion, invert, reduce and make softer the rugged and *Typhonian* one; and when again it is restrained and forced back *e Typhon* returns into himself, and

a The Dog is Sacred to the Sun, for being Prolific and Wife.

b For ὕπναιον, I read ὕπναιον τὸ.

c *Sais* or *Sais*.

d The Jews call the Devil *Samael*, i.e. The Destroying Power.

e I add ὁ τὸν ἐάν.

a For ἀπει-
ων, I read
ἀπεισιαν.

b Harpocrates
or the Hyber-
nal Sun.

c I read
ἀψις for
ὀψις.

and sinks into his former *a* Interminate-
ness. *Eudoxus* also saith, that the *Ægypti-
ans* Fable of *b* Jupiter, how that being
once unable to go, because his Legs grew
together, he for very Shame spent all his
time in the Wilderness ; but that *Isis* di-
viding and separating these Parts of his
Body, he came to have the right Use of
his Feet, This Fable also hints to us by
these Words, that the Intelligence and
Discourse of the God which walk'd be-
fore in the unseen and inconspicuous State
came into Generation by means of Moti-
on. The *Sistrum* likewise (or the Rattle of
Isis) doth intimate unto us, that all things
ought to be agitated and shook, and not
be suffered to rest from their Motion ;
but be as it were rung up and awoke,
when they begin to grow drowzy and to
droop. For they tell us, that the *Sistres*
avert and fright away *Typhon*, insinuating
hereby, that as Corruption locks up and
fixes Nature's Course, so Generation again
resolves and excites it by means of Motion.
Moreover, as the *Sistre* hath its upper part
convex, so its *c* Circumference contains
the Four Things that are shaken : for that
part of the World also which is liable to
Generation and Corruption is contained by
the Sphere of the Moon ; but all things
are moved and changed in it by means of
the Four Elements, of Fire, Earth, Wa-
ter and Air. And upon the upper part
of the Circumference of the *Sistre*, on the
out side, they set the *Effigies* of a Cat
carved with a Human Face ; and again, on
the

the under part below the four Jingling things, they set on one side the Face of *Isis*, and on the other the Face of *Nephthys*, symbolically representing by these two Faces Generation and Death (for these are Changes and Alterations of the Elements :) and by the Cat the Moon, because of the different Colours, the Night-motion, and the great Fecundity of this Animal. For they say that she brings forth first One, then Two, and Three, and Four, and Five, and so adds until she comes to Seven ; so that she brings Eight and Twenty in all, which are as many as there are several Degrees of Light in the Moon ; but this looks more like a (*a*) Ro-

mance. This is certain, that the Pupils of her Eyes are observed to fill up and grow large upon the Full of the Moon, and again, to contract and grow less upon the Decrease of this Star. To sum up all then in one Word, it is not reasonable to believe, that either the Water, or the Sun, or the Earth, or the Heaven is *Osiris* or *Isis* : Nor again, that the Fire, or the Drought, or the Sea is *Typhon* ; but if we simply ascribe to *Typhon* whatever in all these is through Excesses or Defects intemperate or disorderly ; and if on the other hand we reverence and honour what in them all is Orderly, Good and Beneficial, esteeming them as the Operations of *Isis*, and as the Image, Imitation and Discourse of *Osiris*, we shall not err. And we shall besides, take off the Incredulity of *Eudoxus*, who makes a great Question how it comes

a It is therefore to be understood of the Celestial Cat.

a Ceres in Greek *Demetter* or *Mother Deo*, and also *κόρη*, or *Libera*, is the same with *Isis* and *Venus*.

b For *σταμί-
νον*, I read *σταμί-
νον* with *Petavi-
us's* Copy.

c I read *ἀε-
τις* for *ἀε-
της*, out of the same Copy.

d For a Scarecrow I suppose.

comes to pass, that neither *a* Ceres hath any part in the Care of Love Affairs (but only *Isis*,) nor *Bacchus* any Power, either to encrease the Nile, or to preside over the Dead. For we hold that these Gods are set over the whole share of Good in one common *Discourse*, and that whatever is either Good or Amiable in Nature, is all owing to these, the one yielding the Principles, and the other receiving and *b* dispensing them. By this means we shall be able to deal with the Vulgar and more Importune sort also, whether their Fancy be to accommodate the things that refer to these Gods, to those Changes which happen to the Ambient Air at the several Seasons of the Year, or to Productions, and to the Times of Sowing and *c* Earing, affirming that *Osiris* is then buried when the sown Corn is covered over by the Earth, and that he revives again, and re-appears when it begins to sprout. Which they say is the reason that *Isis* is reported upon her finding her self to be with Child, to have hung a certain *d* Amulet or Charm about her upon the sixth day of the Month *Phaophi*; and that she was delivered of *Herpocrates* about the Winter Tropic, he being in the first Shootings and Sprouts very Imperfect and Tender. Which is the reason (say they) that when the Lentils begin to spring up, they offer him their Tops for First Fruits. They also observe the Festival of her *After-birth* after the Vernal Æquinox. For they that hear these things are much taken

taken with them, and readily give assent to them, and presently infer their Credibility from the Obviousness and Familiarness of the Matter. Nor would this be any great harm neither, would they save us these Gods in common, and not make them to be peculiar to the *Ægyptians*, nor confine these Names to the River *Nilus*, and only to that one Piece of Ground which the River *Nilus* waters; nor affirm their *Fens* and their *Lotuses* to be the Subject of this *a* Mythology, and so deprive the rest of Mankind of great and mighty Gods, who have neither a *Nilus* nor a *Butos*, nor a *Memphis*. As for *Isis*, all Mankind have her, and are well acquainted with her and the other Gods about her; and although they had not antiently learnt to call some of them by their *Ægyptian* Names, yet they from the very first both knew and honoured the Power which belongs to every one of them. In the second place, what is yet of greater consequence, is, that they take a mighty care, and that they fear, least before they are aware, they, as it were *b* crumble and dissolve the Divine Beings into Blasts of Winds, Streams of Water, Sowings of Corn, *c* Earrings of Land, Accidents of the Earth, and Changes of Seasons; as those who make *Bacchus* to be Wine, and *d Vulcan* to be Flame. *Cleanthes* also somewhere saith, that *e Phresepnone* (or *Proserpine*) is that Air that is first *Pheromenon* (or that passes) through the Fruits of the Earth, and is afterwards, as it were, *Pho-*

a For μὴ θεοποιῶν, I read μὴ θεοποιῶν.
b Διὰ τῶν στοιχείων.
c I read ἀεὶ τὸς φοῖτον ἀεὶ τῶν.
d Vulcan is called in Greek Ἡφαιστος.
e Phtha, which is God. She hath her Name from φέρειν φέρων, or Bringing Bloodshed.

neuomenon (or *Slain* :) and again, a certain Poet saith of Reapers:

Then when the Youths the Legs of Ceres cut.

a I read *χελ* the *a* Cables and the Anchor of a Ship
λω for *χελως*, for the Pilot; the Yarn and the Webb for
 and a little the Weaver; and the Bowl, or the Maid,
 before *ἐπι* or the Pisan for the Doctor. And they
 for *τέτε*. over and above produce in Men, most dan-

b I add *οὐδὲ* Power. But yet by means of these
 before *ὑπο-* things we come to think them Gods that
χείρων. use them themselves, and bestow them
 upon us, and that render them perpetual
 and continual; and those not some in one
 Country, and others in another; nor
 some *Grecians*, and others *Barbarians*, nor
 some Southern and other Northern; but
 as the Sun, Moon, Land and Sea are
 common to all Men but yet have different
 Names in different Nations; so that
 one *Discourse* that orders these things, and
 that one *Forecast* that administers them,
 and those *Subordinate Powers* that are set o-

ver every Nation in Particular, have assigned them by the Laws of several Countries, several kind of Honours and Appellations. And those that have been consecrated to their Service, makes use a some a For us, I of them of darker, and others again of read in us. clearer Symbols, thereby guiding the Understanding to the Knowledge of things Divine, not without much Danger and Hazard. For some not being able to reach their true Meaning, have slid into down right Superstition; and others again, while they would fly the Quagmire of Superstition, have fallen unwittingly upon the Precipice of Atheism. And for this reason we should here make most use of the Reasonings from Philosophy, which introduce us into the Knowledge of things Sacred, that so we may think piously of whatever is said or acted in Religion: Left, as *Theodorus* once said, that as he reacht forth his Discourses in his Right-hand, some of his Auditors received them in their Left; so we judging otherwise then they are, of what things the Laws have wisely constituted about the Sacrifices and Festivals thereby fall into most dangerous Errors and Mistakes. That therefore we are to construe all these things to refer to the *Discourse*, we may easily perceive by them themselves. For upon the Nineteenth Day of the First Month, they keep a solemn Festival to *Hermes*, wherein they eat Honey and Figs, and withal, say these Words, *b Truth is a sweet Thing*. And that Amulet or Charm, which they fable

b Isis was before called *Fustice*, and now *Truth*, both which must participate of *Benignity* or *Sweetness* of *Temper*. See 3 Esdr. 4. 40.

Isis to hang about her, is, when interpreted into our Language. *A true Voice*. Nor are we to understand *Harpocrates* to be either some Imperfect or Infant God, or a sort of Puls (as some will have him) but to be the Governour and Reducer of the Tender, Imperfect and Inarticulate *Discourse*, which Men have about the Gods.

a The natural Reason, was because *Jupiter* seldom thundered in the Winter-Season.

b The Emblem of Generation.

c Fortune is *Isis* or the Moon, and God, *Hermes* or the Sun, i. e. The Tongue provides for Body and Soul.

d The Heart and the Tongue are apt Symbols of *Alakia* or Truth.

d For παρ-εγνώματ, I read παρ-εγνώματ.

f *Hic Labor, hoc opus est.*

For which reason, he hath always *a* his Fingure upon his Mouth, as a Symbol of talking little and keeping Silence. Likewise upon the Month of *Mesore*, they present him with certain *b* Puls, and pronounce these Words; *c* **THE TONGUE IS FORTUNE, THE TONGUE IS GOD.** And of all the Plants that *Ægypt* produces, they say the *Peach-tree* is most Sacred to the Goddess; because its Fruit resembles the *d* Heart, and its Leaf the Tongue. For there is nothing that Man possesses that is either more Divine, or that hath a greater tendency upon Happiness then *Discourse*, and especially that which relates to the Gods. For which reason *e* they lay a strict Charge upon such as go down to the Oracle there, to have pious Thoughts in their Hearts, and Words of good sound in their Mouths. But the greater part act Ludicrous Things in their Processions and Festivals, first proclaiming good Expressions, and then both speaking and thinking Words of most lewd and wicked meaning, and that even of the Gods themselves. *f* How then must we manage our selves at these teitrical, morose and mournful Sacrifices, if

we

we are neither to omit what the Laws prescribe us, nor yet to confound and distract our Thoughts about the Gods with vain and uncouth Surmises? There are among the *Greeks* also many things done, that are very like to those which the *Ægyptians* do at their Solemnities, and much about the same time too. For at the *Thesmophoria* at *Athens*, the Women fast sitting upon the bare *a* Ground. The *Beotians* also remove that they call *Achaias* *Megara* (or the House of the *Achean Ceres*) *a* The Earth being the Body of *Isis* or *Ceres*. terming that Day the *Afflictive Holy-day*, because *Ceres* was then in great *Affliction* for her Daughters Descent into Hell. Now upon this Month, about the Rising of the *Pleiades*, is the Sacred Time; and the *Ægyptians* call it *Athyr*, the *Athenians*, *Pyanepsion* and the *Beotians* *Dematrios* (or the Month of *Ceres*) Moreover, *Theopompus* relates, that *b* those that live towards the *b* The Moors and *Spaniards*. Sun-setting (or the *Hesperii*) believe the *Winter* to be *Saturn*, the *Sumer Venus*, and the *Spring time Proserpine*, and that they call them by those Names, and maintain all things to be produced by *c* *Saturn* and *Ve* *c* *Sol* and *Luna*. But the *Phrygians* being of Opinion that the *Sun* sleeps in the *Winter*, and weaks in the *Sumer*, do in the manner of *Ecstasies*, in the *Winter-time* sing certain *d* Lullabyes to make him sleep, and in the *d* *Κατακλιμαίοντες*. *Sumer-time* again, certain *e* Rouzing Carols to make him wake. In like manner *e* *Ἀντικλιμαίοντες*. the *Paphlagonians* say, he is bound and imprisoned in the *Winter*, and walks abroad again in the *Spring*, and is at liber-

a I read γε-
γέσται for
γενναῖται.

b For γλι-
χρως and
ἀπόρως, I
read γλι-
χρως and
ἀπόρως.

ty; and the Nature of the Season gives us suspection that this tetrical sort of Service *a* was occasioned by the absenting of the several sortsof Fruits at that time of the Year; which yet the Antients did not believe to be Gods, but such Gifts of the Gods as were both great and necessary in order to preserve them from a Savage and Bestial Life. And at what time they saw both the Fruits that came from Trees wholly to disappear and fail, and those also which themselves had sown, *b* to be yet but starved and poor, they taking up fresh Mold in their Hands, and laying it about their Roots, and committing them a second time to the Ground, with uncertain Hopes of their ever coming to Perfection, or arriving to Maturity, did herein many things that might well resemble People at Funerals, and a Mourning for the Dead. Moreover, as we use to say of one that hath bought the Books of *Plato*, that he hath bought *Plato*, and of one that hath taken upon him to act the Compositions of *Menander*, that he hath acted *Menander*; in like manner they did not stick to call the Gifts and Creatures of the Gods by the Names of the Gods themselves, paying this Honour and Veneration to them for their necessary Use. But those of After times receiving this Practice unskilfully and ignorantly, applying the Accidents of Fruits, and the Accesses and Recesses of things necessary to Human Life unto the Gods, did not only call them the Generations and Deaths of the

the Gods, but also believed them such and so filled themselves with abundance of absurd, wicked and distempered Notions; and this, although they had the Absurdity of such a monstrous Opinion before their very Eyes. And therefore *Xenophones* the *Colophonian* might not only a put the *Ægyptians* in Mind, *If they believed those they worshipped to be Gods, not to lament for them, and if they lamented for them, not to believe them to be Gods;* but also that it would be extremely ridiculous at one and the same time to lament for the Fruits of the Earth, and to pray them to appear again, and make b themselves ripe, that so they may be over again consumed and lamented for. But now this in its true intention is no such thing; but they make their Lamentation for the Fruits, and their Prayers to the Gods, who are the Authors and Bestowers of those Fruits, that they would be pleased to produce and bring up again other new ones in the place of them that are gone. Wherefore it is an excellent Saying among Philosophers, *That they that have not learnt the true Sense of Words, will mistake also in the Things;* as we see those among the *Greeks*, who have not learned nor accustomed themselves to call the Copper, the Stone, and the painted Representations of the Gods, their Images or their Honours, but them themselves, are so adventurous, as to say, that *Lachares* stripped *Minerva*, that *Dionysius* cropt off *Apollo's* Golden Locks; and that *Jupiter Capitolinus* was burnt and destroyed in the

a For ἐξῆς
οἱ, I read
ὑπομνήσαι,
or to that
Sense.

b For ἐαυ-
πῆς, I read
ἐαυτῶς.

Civil Wars of Rome. They therefore
a For *μαρταρῶσιν*, I read *λατρεύουσιν*. *a* before they are aware, suck in and receive bad Opinions with these Improper Words. And the *Ægyptians* are not the least Guilty herein, with respect to the Animals which they worship. For the *Grecians* both speak and think aright in these Matters, when they tell us that the *Pigeon* is Sacred to *Venus*, the *Serpent* to *Minerva*, the *Raven* to *Apollo*, and the *Dog* to *Diana*, as *Euripides* somewhere speaks (concerning *Hecuba*)

b For *ἔστιν*, I read *ἔσθι*. *Into a Bitch, transformed you (b) shall be, And be the Play thing of bright Hecate.*

But the greater Part of the *Ægyptians* worshipping the very Animals themselves, and courting them as Gods, have not only filled their Religious Worship with Matter of Scorn and Derision (for that would be the least harm that could come of their
c *Ἀβελιότης*. *c* blockish Ignorance) but a dire Conception also arises therefrom, which blows up the feeble and simple Minded into an Extravagance of Superstition, and when it lights upon the more subtle and daring Tempers, it outrages them into Atheistical and Brutish Cogitations. Wherefore it seems not inconsonant here to recount what is probable upon this Subject. For that the Gods being afraid of *Typhon*, changed themselves into these Animals, and did as it were hid themselves in the Bodies of *Ibises* *Dogs* and *Hawks*, is a Foolery beyond all Prodigiousness and Legend.
 And

And that such Souls of Men departed this Life, as remain undissolved after Death, have leave to be Re born into this Life by these Bodies only, is equally incredible. And of those who would assign some Political Reason for these things, there are some that affirm that *Osiris* in his great Army, dividing his Forces into many Parts, which we in *Greek* call *Lochoi* a For ἑλλην- and *Taxeis* (that is, *Decuries* and *Centuries*) *νικῆς*, I read at the same time gave every of them cer- *ἑλληνικῶς*. tain Ensigns or Colours with the Shapes of several Animals upon them, which in process of time came to be lookt upon as Sacred, and to be worshiped by the several Kindreds and Clans in that Distribution. Others say again, that the Kings of After times did for the greater Terror of their Enemies, wear about them in their Battles, the Golden and Silver Heads and upper Parts of fierce Animals. But there are others that relate, that one of these subtle and crafty Princes, observing the *Agyptians* to be of a light and vain Disposition, and very inclinable to Change and Innovation, and that they were withal, when Sober and Unanimous, of an Inexpugnable and Irrestrainable Strength, by reason of their mighty Numbers, therefore taught them in their several Quarters, a perpetual Kind of Superstition to be the Ground of endless Quarrels and Disputes among them. For the Animals which he commanded them to observe and reverence, some of them one sort, and some another, being at Enmity and War with one

a For ἀμύ-
νοισι, I read
ἀμύνοντες.

one another, and themselves desiring some of them one sort of them, and some another for their Food, each Party among them a being upon the perpetual Defence of their proper Animals, and highly resenting the Wrongs that were offered them; it happened, that being thus drawn into the Quarrels of their Beasts, they were, before they were aware, engaged in Hostilities with one another. For at this very Day, the *Lycopolitans* (or *Wolf-Town-men*) are the only People among the *Egyptians* that eat the Sheep, because the *Wolf*, which they esteem to be a God, doth so too. And in our own Times, the *Oxyrynchites* (or *those of Pike-Town*) because the *Kynopolitans* (or *those of Dog-Town*) did eat a *Pike* catcht the *Dogs*, and slew them, and eat of them as they would do of a Sacrifice; and there arising a Civil War upon it, in which they did much Mischief to one another, they were all at last chastised by the *Romans*. And whereas there are many that say that the Soul of *Typhon* himself took its Flight into these Animals, this Tale may be lookt upon to signify that every Irrational and Brutal Nature appertains to the Share of the *Evil Demon*. And therefore when they would pacifie him and spake him fair, they make their Court and Addresses to these Animals. But if there chance to happen a great and excessive Drought, which above what is ordinary at other times brings along with it either wasting Diseases, or other monstrous and prodigious Calamities, the

the Priests then conduct into a dark place with great silence and stillness, some of the Animals which are honoured by them: and they first of all menace and terrifie them: and if the Mischief still continues, they then consecrate and offer them up, looking upon this as a way of punishing the *Evil God*, or at least as some grand Purgation in time of greatest Disasters. For, as *Manethos* relateth, they were used in ancient times to burn live Men in the City of *Idithya*, entitling them to *Typhon*, and then they made Wind and dispersed and scattered their Ashes into the Air. And this was done publicly, and at one only Season of the Year, which was the Dog-days. But those Consecrations of the Animals worshipped by them, which are made in secret, and at irregular and uncertain times of the Year, as occasions require, are wholly unknown to the vulgar Sort, except only at the time of their Burials, at which they produce certain other Animals, and in the Presence of all Spectators, throw them into the Grave with them, thinking by this means to vex *Typhon*, and to abate the Satisfaction he received by their Deaths. For it is the *Apis* with a few more that is thought Sacred to *Osiris*; but the far greater part are assigned to *Typhon*. And if this account of theirs be true, I believe it signifies the Subject of our Enquiry to be such Animals as are universally received, and have their Honours in common amongst them all; and of this kind is the *Ibis*, the *Hawk*, the
a *Kyno-*

a That is, a
Drill, or a
Mungrel be-
twixt a Dog
and a Man.
b Here I add
xj.

c For εν εαυ-
τις, I read
εν αὐτις.

d That is that
Efflux or E-
manation of
the Nus or
Mental Princi-
ple, which
gives Form
unto Matter,
and to the
Parts of the
Universe.
e I leave out
n.

a *Kynokephalos*, *b* and the *Apis* himself ;
and indeed they call the Goat, which is
kept at *Mendes* by the same Name. It
remains yet behind, that I treat of their
Beneficialness to Man, and of their Sym-
bolical Use; and some of them partici-
pate of some one of these, and others of
both. It is most manifest therefore that
they worshiped the *Ox*, the *Sheep*, and the
Ichneumon for their Benefit and Use, as the
Lemniotes did the *Larks*, for finding out
the Caterpillars Eggs, and breaking them ;
and the *Thessalians* the *Storks*, because that
as their Soil bred abundance of Serpents,
they at their appearance destroyed them
all. For which reason they enacted a
Law, that whoever killed a *Stork* should
be banished the Country. Moreover, the
Egyptians honour'd the *Asp*, the *Wee-
zle* & the *Beetle*, observing *c* in them certain
dark Resemblances of the Power of the
Gods, like those of the Sun in Drops of
Water. For there are many that to this
Day believe that the *Wee-
zle* engenders by
the Ear, and bring forth by the Mouth,
and is therein a Resemblance of the Pro-
duction of the *d* *Discourse*; and that the
Beetle Kind also hath no Female, but that
the Males cast out their Sperm into a
round Pellet of Earth, which they rowl
about by thrusting it backwards with their
hinder Feet, while themselves move for-
wards; and this in imitation of the *Sun*,
which while it self moves from West to
East, turns the Heaven the contrary way.
They also *e* compared the *Asp* to a *Star*,
for

for being always young, and for performing its Motions with great ease and glibness, and that without the help of Organs. Nor had the *Crocodile* his Honour given him without a shew of probable reason for it: it is ^a therefore reported to have been produced for a Representation of God, it being the only Animal that is without Tongue. For the *Divine Discourse* hath no need of Voice, and

^a For ², I
read ²⁷.

Marching by still and silent ways,

And by exact Justice, it transacts mortal Affairs according to Justice. Besides, they say he is the only Animal that lives in Water that hath his Eye-sight covered over with a thin and transparent Film, which descends down from his Fore-head, so that he sees without being seen himself by others, in which he agrees with the First God. Moreover, in what place soever in the Country the Female *Crocodile* lays her Eggs, that may be certainly concluded to be the utmost extent of the Rise of the River *Nilus* for that year. For not being able to lay in the Water, and being afraid to lay far from it, they have so exact a Knowledge of Futurity, that though they enjoy the Benefit of the approaching Stream at their Laying and Hatching, they yet preserve their Eggs dry and untouched by the Water. And they lay sixty in all, and are just as many days a hatching them, and the longest liv'd of them, live as many years; that being

^a That is, a
Clyster.

^b For ε, I
read επυ.

ing the first Measure which those that are employed about the Heavens make use of. But of those Animals that were honoured for both reasons, we have already treated of the *Dog*; but now the *Ibis*, besides that he killeth all deadly and poisonous Vermin, was also the first that taught Men the ^a Medicinal Evacuation of the Belly, she being observed to be after this manner washed and purged by her self. Those also of the Priests that are the strictest Observers of their Sacred Rites, when they consecrate Water for Lustration use to fetch it from some place where the *Ibis* had been drinking. For she will neither taste nor come near any unwholesome or infectious Water. Besides, the Distance of her two Legs from one another, with the length of her Bill laid a cross, make betwixt them an *Æquilateral Triangle*; and the peckledness and mixture of her Feathers, where there are black ones about the white, signifie the Gibbousness of the Moon on either side. Nor ought we to think it strange that the *Egyptians* should affect such poor and slender Comparisons ^b when we find the *Grecians* themselves, both in their Pictures and Statues make use of many such Resemblances of the Gods as these are. For Example, there was in *Crete* an Image of *Jupiter*, having no Ears, for he that's Commander and Chief over all, should hear no one. *Phidias* also set a *Serpent* by the Image of *Minerva*, and a *Snail* by that of *Venus* at *Elis*, to shew that Maids need-
ed

ed a Guard upon them, and that Silence and keeping at Home became married Women. In like manner the Trident of Neptune is a Symbole of the Third Region of the World, which the Sea possesses, scituated below that of the Heaven and Air. For which reason they also gave their Names to *Amphitrite* and the *Tritons*. The *Pythagoreans* also honoured Numbers and Geometric Figures, with the Names of Gods. For they called an *Æquilateral Triangle* *Minerva*, *Coryphagenes* (or *Crown-born*) and *Tritogencia*, because it is divided by three Perpendiculars drawn from the three Angles. They likewise called the *Unite* *Apollo*; *a* the Number of Two, *Con-* *a* Πείθειαν *temptation*, and also *Audaciousness*; and the *περρδσση κ;* Number Three, *Justice*; for wronging, *διπλοτάτοις* and being wronged, being two Extrems *μονάδσ;*, I caused by Deficiency and Excess, Justice restore to the came by Equality in the middle. But *Margin* that which is called *Tetraëty*s (or the *Sacred* whence it was *Quaternion*) being the Number Thirty Six, taken. was (according to common Fame) the greatest Oath among them, and was called by them *the World*, because it is made up of the even Number Four, and of *b* Four *b* This is, four odd Numbers summed up together. If times Nine, therefore the most approved of the Philo- which plainly sophers did not think meet to pass over, or refer to the disesteem any significant Symbole of the XXXVI. Decanates in the Divinity which they observed even in Zodiac. things that had neither Soul nor Body, I believe they regarded yet more those Properties of Government and Conduct which they saw in such Natures as had Sense,

a For ἡμῶν
 γεν ἀφύχῃ, I
 read ἀφύχον,
 ἡμῶν.

Sense, and were endued with Soul, with Passion and with Mortal Temper. We are not therefore to approve of those that worship these things, but God by these things; as being the more clear Mirrors of him, and produced by Nature; so as ever worthily to conceive of them as the Instruments or Artifices of that God which orders all things. And it is reasonable to believe, that no *a* Inanimate Being can be more excellent than an Animate one, nor an Insensible than a Sensible; no, though one should heap together all the Gold and Emeraulds in the Universe. For the Property of the Divinity consists not in fine Colours, Shapes and Slicknesses, but on the contrary, those Natures are of a Rank below the very Dead, that neither did, nor ever can partake of Life. But now that that Nature which hath Life, and which sees and hath the Source of her Motion from her own Self, as also the Knowledge of things Proper and Aliene to her, hath certainly derived an Efflux, and a Portion of that Prudence which (as *Heraclitus* speaks) *Considers how both it self and the whole is governed.* And there the Deity is no worse represented in these Animals than in the Workmanships of Copper and Stone, which suffer Corruptions and Decays as well as they, and are besides naturally void of Sense and Perception. This then is what I esteem the best account that is given of their Adoration of Animals. As to the Sacred Vestments, that of *Isis* is partly

party-coloured, and of different Hues ; for her Power is about Matter, which becomes every thing, and receives every thing, as Light, Darkness, Day, Night, Fire, Water, Life, Death, Beginning and Ending ; but that of *Osiris* had no Shade nor variety of Colours, but one only simple one, resembling Light. For the first Principle is untempered, and that which is First, and of an Intelligible Nature is unmixt, which is the reason why after they have once made use of these things, they lay them up and keep them close. For that which is intelligible is invisible, and not to be toucht. But those of *Isis* are used often : For sensible things being of dayly use and familiar to us, afford us many Overtures and Scenes of their Mutations ; but the apprehension of what is Intelligible, Sincere and Holy, darting through the Soul like a Flash of Lightning, attends but to some one single Glance or Glimpse of its Object. For which reason, both *Plato* and *Aristotle* call this part of Philosophy by the Name of the *Epopic* or Intuitive Part, intimating, that those who by help of Reason, have got beyond these Opinable, mixed and various things, mount up to that First, Simple and Immaterial Being ; and when they have certainly reached the pure Truth about it, they believe they have at last attained to compleat Philosophy. And that which the present Priests do darkly hint out and insinuate to us, though with much Obscurity, great Shyness and Pre-

M

caution

a He that personated *Osiris*, was certainly *a Demon*.

b For *στατη-
εἴτηεν*, I read *στατη-
εἴτηε*.

caution, which is, that this God is the *a* Governour and Prince of those that are dead, and that he is no other than he who is called by the *Greeks* *Hades* and *Pluto*, being not taken in its true Sense, *b* disturbs the Minds of the greater part, while they suspect that the truly Holy and good God *Osiris* lives within and beneath the Earth, where the Bodies of those who are supposed to have an end lye hid and buried. But he himself is at the remotest distance from the Earth imaginable, being unstained and unpolluted, and clean from every Substance that is liable to Corruption and Death. But Mens Souls, encompassed here with Bodies and Passions, have no Communication with God, except what they can reach to in Conception only, by means of Philosophy, as by a kind of an obscure Dream. But when they are loosed from the Body, and removed into the Unseen, Invisible, Impassible and Pure Region, this God is then their Leader and King, they there as it were hanging on him wholly, and beholding, without Weariness, and passionately affecting that Beauty that cannot be exprest or uttered by Men; which the Goddess *Isis* alway carressing, affecting and enjoying, by that means filled these lower things with all those goodly and excellent Beings, which partake of Generation. This then is that account of these things which best suits the Nature of the Gods. And if I now must, according to my Promise, speak something concerning the things they daily offer by way

way of Incense, you are in the first place to understand this, that these People make the greatest account imaginable of all Endeavours that relates to Health : and more especially in their Sacrifices, Purgations and Diets, Health is then no less respected then Devotion. For they think it would be an unseemly thing to wait upon that Nature that is pure and every way unblemisht and untoucht, with crazy and diseased Minds or Bodies ; whereas therefore the Air that we most use and live in hath not always the same Disposition and Temperament ; but in the Night time grows condense, compresses the Body, and contracts the Mind into a kind of a melancholy and thoughtful Habit, it becoming then as it were foggy and doz'd. They therefore, as soon as they are up in the Morning, burn Resin about them, refreshing and clearing the Air by its scattered Particles, and fanning up the Native Spirit of the Body, which is now grown languid and dull ; this sort of Scent having something in it that is very impetuous and striking. And perceiving again at Noon-time, that the Sun hath drawn up by violence, a copious and gross Exhalation out of the Earth, they by censing, mix Myrrh also with the Air ; for Heat dissolves and dissipates that puddled and slimy Vapour, which at that time gathers together in the Ambient. And Physicians are also found to help Pestilential Diseases, by making great Blazes to rarifie the Air ; but it would be much better rarified if they would burn Sweet-scent-

(a) *Acron* the *Agrigentine*, lived before *Hippocrates*.

(b) *Beal* or *Baal* signifies in the Eastern Tongues the Lord or the Sun. So *Balsam* is *Baal Samen*, that is, *The Lord of Heaven*.
c For *μυρρῶν*, I read *γερών*.

d *Myrrhus* and *Myropola*, was antiently both a *Perfumer* and an *Apothecary*.

ed Woods, such as Cypress, Juniper and Pine. And therefore a *Acron* the Physician is said to have gained a mighty Reputation at *Athens*, in the time of the great Plague, by ordering People to make Fires near to the Sick; for not a few were benefited by it. *Aristotle* likewise saith, that the odoriferous Exhalations of Perfumes, Flowers and sweet Meadows, are no less conducing to Health than to Pleasure; for that their Warmth and Delicacy of Motion, gently relax the Brain, which is of its own Nature cold and clammy. And if it be true, that the *Egyptians*, in their Language call Myrrh *b Bal*, and that the most proper Signification of that Word, is, *Scattering away Melancholy*, this also adds some Testimony to our account of the reason why they burn it. Moreover, that they call *Kyphi*, is a kind of a Composition made up of Sixteen c Ingredients, that is, of Honey, Wine, Raisins, Cyperus, Resin, Myrrh, Aspalathus, Sefeli, Schoenanthus, Bitumen, Deadly Night-shade and Dock; to which they add, the Berries of both the Junipers (the one whereof they call the Greater, and the other the Lesser Sort) as also Calamus Aromaticus, and Cardamoms. Neither do they put them together slightly, or at a random Rate, but the Sacred Books are read to the d Perfumers all the while they are compounding them. As for the Number of the Ingredients, although it plainly appears to be a Square of a Square, and to be the only Number, which having an orderly equal Proportion, draws

draws a Periphery equal to its *Area*, very much to the present Purpose ; yet I must needs say, that this contributes but very little here ; but that it is the contain'd *Specieses* (most of which, are of Aromatic Properties) that send up a sweet Fume, and an agreeable Exhalation, which changing the Air, and the Body being put by the Air into its regular and proper Motion, *a* becomes gently chafed, and retains a gay and an entertaining Temperament, and without the Disorders of Drunkenness, as it were loosens and untites like a sort of Knots, the Doziness and Intensity of the Thoughts by Day-time, and the Phantastic Part, and that which is Receptive of Dreams, it wipes like a Looking-glass, and renders clearer, with no less Efficacy than those Strokes of the Harp which the *Pythagoreans* made use of before they went to sleep, to charm and allay the distempered and irrational part of the Soul. For we find that strong Scents many times call back the failing Sense, and many times dull and obstruct it, their wasted Parts diffusing themselves by their great Fineness and Subtlety through the whole Body ; like as some Physicians tell us, that Sleep is produced when the Fumes of Meat, by creeping gently about the Inwards, and as it were groping every Part, causes a certain soft Titillation. They also use this *Kyphi* both for a Drink, and for a Medicinal Potion ; for when drunk, it is found to cleanse the Inwards, it being a Loosener of the Belly. Besides all this, *Resin* is the

a For $\pi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\varsigma\eta\mu\alpha\varsigma\ \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$,
I read $\pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\eta\upsilon\omega\varsigma\ \iota\pi\epsilon\rho\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$.

a Here is wanting *συ-
νάρησις*, or something like it. Creature of the *Sun*, and *a* they gather *Myrrh* as the Trees weep it out by Moonlight; but now, of those Ingredients that make up *Kypsi*, there are some that delight more in the Night, as those whose Nature it is to be nourished by cool Blasts, Shades, Dews and Humidities. For the Light of Day is one thing and simple, and *Pindar* saith, the Sun is then seen,

—— Through still and quiet Air.

b I leave out *σύνμυγμα* as a Gloss. But the Air of Night is a kind of (*b*) Composition, for it is made up of many Lights and Powers, which like so many several Seeds flow down from every Star into one place. They therefore very pertinently cense the former things by Day-time, as being Simples, and deriving their Original from the Sun; and the latter at the Entrance of the Night, they being mixt, and of many and different Qualities.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. IV.

Concerning such whom God is slow to Punish.

Translated from the Greek by J. Phillips, Gent.

THese and such like things, O *Cynias*! when *Epicurus* had spoken, before any Person could return an Answer, while we were busie at the farther end of the *Portico*, he flung away in great haste. However we could not but in some measure admire at the odd Behaviour of the Man, though without taking any farther notice of it in Words; and therefore, after we had gaz'd a while one upon another, we return'd to walk as we were singl'd out in Company before. At what time *Patrocleas* first breaking silence, How say ye Gentlemen, said he, if you think fitting, Why may not we discuss this Question of the last Proposer, as well in his Absence, as if he were present? To whom *Timon* replying, surely, said he, it would but ill become us, if at us he aim'd upon his Departure, to neglect the Arrow sticking in

our Sides. For *Brasidas*, as History reports, drawing forth the Javelin out of his own Body, with the same Javelin, not only wounded him that threw it, but slew him out right. But as for our selves, with far less Difficulty may we defend, with far more Ease may we revenge our selves on them that pelt us with absurd and fallacious Reasonings; and it will be sufficient that we shake them off, before they reach the Opinion it self. Then said I, which of his Sayings is it, that has given you the greatest Cause to be moved? For the Man writes of many things confusedly, but of nothing in order, gleaning up and down from this and t'other Place, without Method or Judgment, and suffering himself, as it were in the Transports of his Pride and Choler, to wreck his reproachful Malice upon the *Providence* of God. To which *Patrocleas*, The slowness of the Supream Deity, said he, and his Procrastination in reference to the Punishment of the Wicked, seems to me a Point, so deeply mysterious, that it has long perplex'd my thoughts; but now puzzl'd by these Arguments which he produces, I am as it were a Stranger to the Opinion, and newly beginning again to learn. Formerly I could not with patience hear that Expression of *Euripides*.

——— *If they delay and slowly move,
'Tis but the Nature of the Gods above.*

For indeed it becomes not the Supream Deity to be remiss in any thing, but more especially in the Prosecution of the Wicked, since they themselves are no way negligent or dilatory in doing Mischief, but always driven on by the most rapid Impetuosities of their Passions to Acts of Injustice. For certainly, according to the Saying of *Thucydides*, that Revenge which follows Injury closest at the Heels, presently puts a Stop to the Progress

gress of such as make Advantage of successful Wickedness. Therefore there is no Debt, with so much Prejudice put off, as that of Justice, for it weakens the Hopes of the Person wrong'd, and renders him Comfortless and Pensive, but heightens the Boldness and daring Insolence of the Oppressor: whereas on the other side, those Punishments and Chastisements that immediately withstand presuming Violence, not only restrain the committing of future Outrages, but more especially bring along with them a particular Comfort and Satisfaction to the Sufferers. Which makes me no less troubl'd at that same Saying of *Bias*, which frequently comes into my Mind: For, said he, once, to a notorious Reprobate, 'tis not that I doubt but thou wilt suffer the just Reward of thy Wickedness, but I fear that I my self shall not live to see it. For what did the Punishment of *Aristocrates* avail the *Messenians*, who were kill'd before it came to pass? who having betray'd them at the Battle of *Cyprus*, yet remain'd undetected for above twenty years together; and all that while reign'd King of the *Arcadians*, till at length, discover'd and apprehended, he receiv'd the merited Recompence of his Treachery. But alas! they whom he had betray'd were all dead at the same time. Or when the *Orchomenians* had lost their Children, their Friends and Familiar Acquaintance, through the Treachery of *Lyciscus*, what Consolation was it to them, that many years after, a foul Distemper seiz'd the Traitor, and fed upon his Body, till it had consum'd his putrify'd Flesh? who, as often as he dipt and bath'd his Feet in the River, with horrid Oaths and Execrations, bann'd the Loss of his Members, putrify'd and gangreen'd to expiate the Treachery and Villany which himself had committed. For it was not possible for the Childrens Children of the *Athenians*, who had been murther'd long before, to behold the Bodies of those Sacrilegious Cainiffs, which were afterwards torn

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out of their Graves, and transported beyond the Con-
fines of their native Soil. Whence in my Opinion, *Eu-*
ripides absurdly makes use of these Expressions, to di-
vert a Man from Wickedness.

*If thou fear'st Heav'n, thou fear'st in vain;
Justice is not so hasty, foolish Man,
To pierce thy Heart, or with contagious Wound,
Or thee, or weaker Mortals to confound:
But with slow pace, and creeping Feet cuts off
The Malefactor, then Chastisement-proof.*

And I am apt to perswade my self, that upon these
and no other Considerations it is, that wicked Men en-
courage and give themselves the Liberty to attempt and
commit all manner of Impieties, seeing that the Fruit
which Injustice yields is soon ripe, and offers it self ear-
ly to the Gatherers Hand; whereas Punishment comes
late, and lagging long behind the Pleasure of Enjoy-
ment.

After *Patrocleas* had thus discours'd, *Olympicus* taking
him up: There is this farther, said he, O *Patrocleas*!
which thou shouldst have taken notice of; for how
great an Inconvenience and Absurdity arises besides
from these Delays and Procrastinations of Divine Justice?
In regard the slowness of its Execution takes away the
Belief of Providence. For the Wicked perceiving that
Calamity and Revenge does not presently follow at the
Heels of every enormous Crime, but a long time after,
looking upon their Calamity as a Misfortune, and calling
it Chance, not Punishment, are nothing at all thereby re-
form'd; troubled indeed they well may be at the dire
Accident befallen them, but never repent of the Villa-
nies they have committed. For as in usual Discipline,
the Punishment which immediately attends the Fault,
and the Stripes and Pinches that pursue the Transgressi-
on,

on, correct and reduce the Party to his Duty; but the Luggings by the Ears, the Bastings and Thumpings which are late and out of time laid on, seem to be inflicted for some other Reason then to teach or instruct, which puts the Sufferer to Pain, without understanding his Error: In like manner, were the Impieties of enormous Transgressors and hainous Offenders singly scourg'd and repress'd by immediate Severity, it would bring them at length to a Sense of their Folly, humble them, and strike them with an Awe of the Divine Being, whom they find with a watchful Eye beholding the Actions and Passions of Men, and feel to be no dilatory, but a speedy Avenger of Iniquity. Whereas that same remise and slow-pac'd Justice, as *Euripides* describes it, that falls upon the Wicked by Accident, by reason of its incertainty, ill-tim'd Delay, and disorderly Motion, seems rather to resemble Chance then Providence. So that I cannot conceive what Benefit there is in these Grindstones of the Gods, which are said to grind so late, by which Celestial Punishment is obscur'd, and the Aw of evil doing rendred vain and despicable.

These things thus uttered, and in a deep Meditation of what he had said, *Timon* interposing, Is it your Pleasure, said he, that I shall put an end to the Difficulties of this knotty Question, or shall I first permit him to argue in opposition to what has been propounded already? Nay then, said I, to what purpose is it, to let in a third Wave to drown the Argument, if he be not able to repel or avoid the Objections already made?

To begin therefore, as from the *Vestal Hearth*, from that ancient Circumspection and Reverence which our Ancestors, Academic Philosophers also, bare to the Supream God-head, we shall utterly decline to meddle with that mysterious Being, as if we could presume to utter positively any thing concerning it. For though

it may be born withal, for Men unskill'd in Music, to talk at random of Notes and Harmony, or for such as never experienc'd Warfare, to Discourse of Arms and Military Affairs; it would be a bould and daring Arrogance in us, that are but mortal Men, to dive too far into the incomprehensible Mysteries of Deities and *Dæmons*. Just as if Persons void of Knowledg, should undertake to Judge of the Methods and Reason of cunning Artists by slight Opinions and probable Conjectures of their own. Thus, it is not for one that understands nothing of Science, to give a Reason why the Physician did not let Blood before, but afterwards; or why he did not bath his Patient yesterday, but to day. And so likewise neither is it easie nor safe to speak otherwise of the Supream Diety, then only this, that he alone it is, who knows the most convenient time to apply most proper Corrosives for the Cure of Sin and Impiety, and as Medicaments to administer Punishments to every Transgressor, yet not confin'd to an equal Quality and Measure common to all Distempers, nor to one and the same time. Now that the Physical Knowledg, in order to the Cure and Preservation of the Soul, is the most transcendent of all other Sciences, besides ten thousand other Witnesses, even *Pindar* himself testifies, where he gives to God, the Ruler and Lord of all things, the Title of the most *Perfect Artificer*, as being the grand Author and Distributer of Justice, to whom it properly belongs to determine, at what time, in what manner, and to what degree to punish every particular Offender. And *Plato* asserts, that *Minos* being the Son of *Jupiter*, was the Disciple of his Father, to learn this Science. Intimating thereby, as if it were impossible for any other than a Schollar, bred up in the School of Equity, rightly to behave himself in the Administration of Justice, or to make a true Judgment of another, whether he does well or no. For the Laws which are

constituted by Men, do not always prescribe that which is unquestionable and simple Decent, or of which the Reason, is altogether without Exception perspicuous, in regard that some of their Ordinances seems to be on purpose ridiculously contriv'd. Particularly, what in *Lacedemon*, the *Ephori* ordain at their first entring into the Magistracy, that no Man suffer the Hair of his upper Lip to grow; only that they be obedient to the Laws, to the end they may not seem grievous to them. Thus the *Romans*, when they asserted the Freedom of any one, cast a slender Straw upon his Body; and when they make their last Wills and Testaments, some they leave to be their Heirs, while others sell their Estates. Which seems to be altogether contrary to Reason. But that of *Solon* is most absurd, who when a City is up in Arms, and all in Sedition, brands with Infamy, the Person who stands Neuter, and adheres to neither Party. And thus a Man that apprehends not the Reason of the Lawgiver or the Cause why such and such things are so prescribed, might number up several Absurdities of many Laws. What Wonder then, since the Actions of Men are so difficult to be understood, if it be no less difficult to determine concerning the Gods, wherefore they inflict their Punishments upon Sinners, sometimes later, sometimes sooner. Nor do I alledge these things as a Pretence to avoid the Dispute, but to secure the Pardon which I beg. To the end that our Discourse, having a Regard, as it were to some Port or Refuge, may proceed the more boldly in producing probable Circumstances to clear the Doubt. But first consider this, that God according to *Plato*, when he propos'd himself in the middle, the Exemplar of all that was Good and Holy, indulges Human Vertue, by which, Man is in some measure rendred like himself, to those that are able to follow the Diety by Imitation. For universal Nature being at first void of Order, before it came

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to be form'd into a World, had this Beginning of its Change, from a certain infus'd Similitude of that Idea, and Vertue which is in God. And the self same *Plato* asserts, that Nature first kindled the Sense of Seeing within us, to the end that the Soul, by the Sight and Admiration of the Heav'nly Bodies being accustom'd to love and embrace Decency and Order, might be induced to hate the Disorderly Motions of wild and raving Passions, and avoid Levity and Rashness depending upon Chance, as the Original of all Improbability and Vice. For there is no greater Benefit that Men can enjoy from God, then by the Imitation and Pursuit of those Perfections, and that Sanctity which is in him, to be excited to the Study of Vertue. Therefore God with Forbearance and at Leisure, inflicts his Punishment upon the Wicked, not that he is afraid of committing an Error, or of repenting, should he accelerate his Indignation; but to eradicate that brutish and eager Desire of Revenge, that reigns in Human Breasts, and to teach us that we are not, in the Heat of Fury, nor when our Anger heaving and palpitating, boyls up above our Understanding, to fall upon those who have done us an Injury, like those who seek to gratifie a vehement Thirst or craving Appetite; but that we should in imitation of this mildness and forbearance, with due composure of Mind, till after such sufficient time for Consideration taken, as may admit of no Repentance, give way to the Desire of Chastisement or Correction. For as *Socrates* observ'd, it is far the lesser Mischief for a Man, distemper'd with Ebriety and Gluttony, to drink Puddle water, then when the Mind is disturb'd and overcharg'd with Anger and Fury, before it be settled and become limpid again, for a Man to seek the satiating his Revenge upon the Body of his Friend or Kinsman. For according to the Saying of *Thucydides*, Revenge is not the nearest to Injury, but being at a remote distance
from

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from it, observes the most convenient Opportunity. For
as Anger, according to that of *Melancthus*.

*Quite from the Brain transplants the Wit,
Vile Acts designing to commit.*

So Reason does that which is just and moderate, laying
Passion and Fury aside. Whence it comes to pass, that
Men giving ear to Human Examples, become more
mansuete and gentle, as *Plato*, who holding his Cudgel
over his Pages Shoulders, as himself relates, paus'd a
good while, correcting his own Anger. In like man-
ner *Archytas*, observing the Sloth and wilful Negligence
of his Servants in the Field, and perceiving his Passion to
rise at a more then usual rate, did no more, but as he
went away, 'Tis your good Fortune, said he, that ye have
anger'd me. If then the Sayings of Men, when call'd to
mind, and their Actions being read, have such a power
to mitigate the Roughness and Vehemency of Wrath,
much more becomes it us, beholding God, with whom
there is neither Dread or Repentance of any things, de-
ferring nevertheless his Punishments to future Time,
and admitting Delay, to be cautious and circumspect in
in these Matters, and to deem a Divine Part of Ver-
tue that Mildness and long Suffering, of which God af-
fords us an Example, while by punishing, he reforms
some few; by slowly chastizing, helping and admonish-
ing many.

In the second place therefore let us consider this,
That Human Punishments of Injuries regard no more
then that the Party suffers in his turn, and are satisfi'd
that the Offender has suffer'd according to his Merit,
and farther they never proceed. Which is the reason
that they run after Provocations, like Dogs that bark
in their Fury, and immediately pursue the Injury as
soon as committed. But probable it is that God, what-
ever

ever distemper'd Soul it be, which he prosecutes with his Divine Justice, observes the Motions and Inclinations of it, whether they be such as tend to Repentance, and allows Time for the Reformation to whose Wickedness is neither invincible nor incorrigible. Well knowing what a Proportion of Vertue, Souls from himself conveyed to Generation, carry along with them, and how strong and vigorous their innate and primitive Good yet continues. For Wickedness buds forth preternaturally upon the Corruption of bad Diet and evil Conversation; but then some Souls recovering again to perfect cure, or an indifferent Habitude, this is the reason the Diety does not inflict his Punishments alike upon all. But those that are incurable, he presently lops off, and deprives of Life, as being altogether hurtful to others, but most baneful to themselves, as always wallowing in Wickedness. But as for those who probably may be thought to transgress, rather out of Ignorance of what is Vertuous and Good, then through Choice of what is foul and vitious, he grants them time to turn; but if they remain obdurate, then likewise he inflicts his Punishments upon them; for there is no fear lest they should escape.

Now let us consider how oft the Customs and Lives of Men have been chang'd; for which reason the Change of Manners was by the *Greeks* call'd *τεῖπσις*, from turning, as also *ἥθος*, which signifies *Manners* was derived from *ἔθος*, signifying *Custom*, as chiefly prevailing in their Change. Therefore I am of Opinion, that the Ancients reported *Cecrops* to have two Bodies, not as some believe, because of a good King he became a merciless and Dragon-like Tyrant, but rather on the contrary, for that being at first both cruel and formidable, afterwards he became a most mild and gentle Prince. However if this be uncertain, yet we know both *Gelo* and *Hiero* the *Silicians*, and *Pisistratus* the Son of *Hippocrates*, who

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who having obtain'd the Sovereignty by Violence and Wickedness, made a vertuous Use of their Power, and coming unjustly to the Throne, became moderate Rulers, and beneficial to the Public; for by recommending wholsom Laws, and the Exercise of useful Tillage to their Subjects, they reduc'd them from idle Scoffers and talkative Romancers, to be modest Citizens and industrious good Husbands. And as for *Gelo*, after he had been successful in his War, and vanquish'd the *Carthaginians*, he refus'd to grant them the Peace which they su'd for, unless they would consent to have it inserted in their Articles, that they would surcease from sacrificing their Children to *Saturn*.

Over *Megalopolis*, *Lydiades* was Tyrant; but then, even in the time of his Tyranny, changing his Manners and Maxims of Government, and growing into a Hatred of Injustice, he restor'd to the Citizens their Laws, and fighting for his Country against his own and his Subjects Enemies, fell an illustrious Victim for his Countries Welfare. Now if any one bearing an Antipathy to *Miltiades*, or *Cimon*, had slain the one tyrannizing in the *Cherronese*, or the other committing Incest with his own Sister, or had expell'd *Themistocles* out of *Athens*, at what time he lay rioting and revelling in the Market place, and affronting all that came near him, according to the Sentence afterwards pronounc'd against *Alcibiades*, had we not been depriv'd of the Glory obtain'd at *Marathon*, the Honour gain'd over the *Curymedontes*, and the *Dianium*.

—— *When the Athenian Youth
The fam'd Foundations of their Freedom lay'd.*

For great and lofty Genius's produce nothing that is Mean and Little; the innate smartness of their Parts will not endure the Vigor and Activity of their Spirits

to grow lazy; but they are tott'd too and agen, as with the Waves, by the rowling Motions of their own inordinate Desire, till at length they arrive to a stable and settl'd Constitution of Manners. Therefore as a Person that is unskilful in Husbandry, would by no means make choice of a piece of Ground thick overrun with Brakes and Weeds, abounding with wild Beasts and covered with standing Lakes and Mud; yet to him who hath learnt to understand the Nature of the Earth, these are certain Symptoms of the Softness and Fertility of the Soil; thus great Genius's many times produce many absurd and vile Enormities, of which, we not enduring the rugged and uneasy Vexation, are presently for pruning and lopping off the lawless Transgressors. But the more prudent Judge, who discerns the abounding Goodness and Generosity covertly residing in those transcending Genius's, waits the co-operating Age and Season for Reason and Vertue to exert it themselves, and gathers the ripe Fruit when Nature has matur'd it. And thus much as to those particulars.

Now to come to another part of our Discourse, do you not believe that some of the *Greeks* did very prudently to register that Law in *Egypt*, among their own, whereby it is enacted, that if a Woman with Child be sentenc'd to dye, she shall be repriev'd till she be diliver'd? All the reason in the World, you'll say. Then, say I, though a Man cannot bring forth Children, yet if he be able, by the Assistance of Time, to reveal any hidden Action or Conspiracy, or to discover some conceal'd Mischief, or to be Author of some wholsome piece of Advice; or suppose that in time, he may produce some necessary and useful Invention, is it not better to delay the punishment, and expect the Benefit then hastily to rid him out of the World? It seems so to me, said I, and truly you are in the right, reply'd *Patrocles*, For let us consider; had *Dionysius*, at the

the beginning of his Tyranny, suffer'd according to his Merits; never would any of the *Greeks* have re-inhabited *Sicily*, laid wast by the *Carthaginians*. Nor would the *Greeks* have re-possess'd *Apollonia*, nor *Anactorium*, nor the *Peninsule* of the *Leucadians*, had not *Perianders* Execution been delay'd for a long time: and if I mistake not, it was to the delay of *Cassanders* Punishment, that the City of *Thebes* was beholding for her Recovery from Desolation. But the most of those *Barbarians*, who assisted at the Sacrilegious Plunder of that Temple, following *Timoleon* into *Sycily*, after they had vanquish'd the *Carthaginians*, and dissolv'd the Tyrannical Government of that Island, wicked, as they were, came all to a wicked End. For assuredly, the Deity makes use of wicked Men, as we make use of Common Executioners to punish the Wickedness of others, and then destroys those Instruments of his Wrath; which I believe to be true of most Tyrants. For as the Gall of a *Hyena*, and the Rennet of a Sea-Calf, and many other filthy Monsters, contain something in them for the Cure of Diseases, thus when some People deserve a sharp and biting punishment, God subjecting them to the implacable Severity of some certain Tyrant, or the cruel Oppression of some Ruler, does not remove either the Torment, or the Trouble, till he has cur'd and purifi'd the distemper'd Nation. Such a sort of Physick was *Phalaris* to the *Agragantines*, and *Marius* to the *Romans*. And God expressly foretold the *Sicionyans*, how much their City stood in need of most severe Chastisement, when after they had violently ravish'd out of the Hands of the *Gleonians*, *Tiletias*, a young Lad, who had been crown'd at the *Pythian Games*; they tore him Limb from Limb, as their own Fellow Citizen. Therefore *Orthagoras* the Tyrant, and after him, *Myro* and *Cleisthenes* put an end to the Luxury and Lasciviousness of the *Sicionyans*; but the *Cleone-*

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ans, not having the good Fortune to meet with the
same Cure, went all to wrack. To this purpose, hear
what *Homer* says :

*From Parent vile, he far the better Son
Did spring, whom various Vertues did renown.*

And yet we do not find that ever the Son of *Cropeus* perform'd any famous or memorable *Atchievement* ; but the Off spring of *Sisiphus*, *Autolychus* and *Phlegyas* ; flourish'd among the Number of the most famous and vertuous Princes. *Pericles* at *Athens* descended from a wicked Family ; and *Pompey* the Great at *Rome*, was the Son of *Strabo*, whose dead Body, the *Roman* People, in the height of their Hatred conceived against him when alive, cast forth into the Street, and trampled in the Dirt. Where is the Absurdity then, as the Husbandman never cuts away the Thorn till it injures the *Asparagus*, or as the *Libians* never burn the Stalks till they have gather'd all the *Ladanum*, if God never extirpates the evil and thorny Root of a Renowned and Royal Race, before he has gather'd from it the mature and proper Fruit ? For it would have been a far greater disadvantage to the *Phocenses*, tho' a thousand more of *Iphitus's* Horses and Oxen had perish'd, or that they had lost a far greater Sum in Gold and Silver out of their Temple of *Delphos*, then to have miss'd among them the Birth of *Ulysses* and *Esculapius*, and those many others, who of wicked and vicious Men, became highly vertuous and beneficial to their Country. I would gladly know whether it be not better to inflict deserved Punishments in due season, and at convenient times, then hastily and rashly, when a Man is in the heat and hurry of Passion ? Witness the Example of *Callippus*, who, under the Pretence of being his Friend, having stabb'd *Dio*, was himself soon after slain by *Dio's* Intimates,

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mates, with the same Dagger. Thus again, when *Mitias* of *Argos* was slain in a City Tumult, the Brazen which stood in the Market-place, soon after, at the time of the publick Shews, fell down upon the Murtherers Head and kill'd him. What befel *Bessus* the *Peonite*, and *Aristo* the *Ocean*, chief Commander of the foreign Souldiers? I suppose you understood full well, *Patrocles*. Not I, by *Jove*, but I desire to know. Well then, I say this *Aristo*, having with Permission of the Tyrants, carry'd away the Jewels and Ornaments belonging to *Eriphyle*, which lay deposited in that City, made a Present of them to his Wife. The Punishment of this was, that the Son being highly incens'd against his Mother, for what reason it matters not, set Fire to his Fathers House, and burnt it to the Ground, with all the Family that were in it.

As for *Bessus*, it seems he kill'd his own Father, and the Murther lay conceal'd a long time. At length, being invited to Supper among Strangers, after he had so loosen'd a Swallows Nest with his Spear that it fell down, he kill'd all the young ones. Upon which, being asked by the Guests that were present, what Injury the Swallows had done him, that he should commit such an irregular Act? Did you not hear, said he, these cursed Swallows, how they clamor'd and made a Noise, false Witnessles as they were, that I had long ago kill'd my Father? This Answer strook the rest of the Guests with so much Admiration, that after a due pondering upon his Words, they made known the whole Story to the King. Upon which, the matter being divid'd into, *Bessus* was brought to condign Punishment. These things I have allied, as it was but reason upon a supposition, that there is a forbearance of inflicting punishment upon the Wicked. As for what remains it behoves us to listen to *Hesiod*, where he asserts, not like *Plato*, that the Punishment of Injustice accompanies

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the Suffering, but that it is of the same Age with it,
and arises from the same Place and Root. For, says
he,

*Bad Counsel, so the Gods ordain,
Is most of all the Adviser's Bane.*

And in another Place,

*He that his Neighbours Harms contrives, his Art
Contrives the Mischief 'gainst his own false Heart.*

It is reported, that the *Cantharides* Fly, by a certain kind of Antipathy, carries within it self, the Cure of the Wound which it inflicts. On the other side Wickedness, at the same time it is committed, engendring its own Vexation and Torment, not at last, but at the very Instant of the Injury offer'd, suffers the Reward of the Injustice it has done. And as every Malefactor bears his own Cross to the Place of his Execution, so are all the various Torments of various wicked Actions, prepar'd by the several sorts of Wickednesses themselves. Such a diligent Architectress of a miserable and wretched Life is Wickedness, wherein Shame is still accompany'd with a thousand Terrors and Commotions of the Mind, incessant Repentance, and never ceasing Tumults of the Spirits. However, there are some People that differ little or nothing from Children, who many times beholding Malefactors upon the Stage, in their gilded Vestments, and short purple Cloaks, dancing with Crowns upon their Heads, admire and look upon 'em as the most happy Persons in the World, till they see 'em goaded and lash'd, and Flames of Fire curling from underneath their sumptuous and gawdy Garments: Thus there are many wicked Men, surrounded with numerous Families, splendid in the Pomp of Magistracy,

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cy, and Illustrious for the Greatness of their Power,
whose Punishments never display themselves till those
glorious Persons come to be the publick Spectacles of
the People, either slain and lying weltring in their
Blood, or else standing on the top of the Rock, ready
to be tumbl'd headlong down the Precipice; which
indeed cannot so well be said to be a Punishment, as the
Consummation and Perfection of Punishment. More-
over as *Herodiscus the Selimbrian*, falling into a Consump-
tion, the most incurable of all Diseases, was the first
who intermix'd the Gymnastic Art with the Science
of Physic (as *Plato* relates) on purpose to spin out in
length a tedious time of dying, as well for his own,
as the sake of others labouring under the same Dis-
temper. In like manner there are some wicked Men,
who flatter themselves to have escap'd the present
Punishment, yet not after such a Space, but for a lon-
ger Tract of Time, endure a more lasting, not a
shorter Punishment; not punished with Old Age, but
growing old under the Tribulation of tormenting Af-
fliction. When I speak of a long time, I speak in re-
ference to our selves. For as to the Gods, every di-
stance and distinction of Human Life, is nothing: And
now, and *not thirty years ago*, is the same thing, as that
such a Malefactor was tormented or hang'd in the
Morning, and not in the Afternoon. More especially,
since a Man is but shut up in this Life, like a close Pri-
soner in a Goal, from whence it is impossible to make
an Escape; and yet we Feast and Banquet, are full of
Business, receive Rewards, and enjoy Offices. Though
certainly these are but like the Sports of those that play
at Dice, or any other Game in the Goal, while the
Rope all the while hangs over their Heads. So that
what should hinder me from asserting, that neither
they who are shut up in Prison, are truly punish'd, till
the Executioner has chopt off their Heads? Or that he

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who has drank Hemlock, then walks about and stays
till a Heaviness seizes his Limbs, is in any other Con-
dition before the Extinction of his natural Heat, and
the Coagulation of his Blood deprive him of his Senses?
That is to say, if we deem the last Moment of the
Punishment to be only the Punishment, and omit the
Commotions, Terrors, Expectations and Embitterments
of Repentance, with which every Malefactor and all
wicked Men are seiz'd upon the committing of any
heinous Crime. But this is to deny the Fish to be taken
that falls into the Net, before we see it boyl'd and cut
into Pieces by the Cook, for every Offender is within
the Gripes of the Law, so soon as he has committed
the Crime; and no sooner has he swallow'd the sweet
Bait of Injustice, but he may be truly said to be caught,
while his Conscience within, tearing and gnawing upon
his Vitals, allows him no Rest:

*Like the swift Tuny, frighted from his Prey,
Rowling and plunging in the anger'd Sea.*

For the daring rashness and precipitate boldness of Ini-
quity, continues violent and active till the Fact be per-
petrated. But then the Passion, like a surceasing Tem-
pest, growing slack and weak, surrenders it self to Su-
perstitious Fears and Terrors. So that *Stesicorus* may
seem to have compos'd the Dream of *Clytemnestra*, to
set forth the Events and Truth of Things:

— *Then seem'd a Dragon to draw near,
With matty Blood all on his Head besmear'd;
And then the King Plesthenides appear'd.*

For Visions in Dreams, Noon-day Apparitions, Oracles,
Descents into Hell, and whatever Objects else which
may be thought to be transmitted from Heaven, raise
continual

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continual Tempest and Horrors in the very Souls of
the Guilty. Thus it is reported, that *Apollodorus*, in a
Dream, beheld himself fleed by the *Scythians*, and then
boyl'd; and that his Heart speaking to him out of the
Kettle, utter'd these Words, *I am the Cause thou suffer'st*
all this And another time, That he saw his Daughters
run about him, their Bodies burning and all in a Flame.
Hipparcus also, the Son of *Pisistratus*, had a Dream,
that the Goddess *Venus*, out of a certain Vial, flung
Blood in his Face. The Favorities of *Ptolomy*, Sirnam'd
the *Thunderer*, dreamt that they saw their Master cited
to the Judgment Seat by *Seleucus*, where Wolves and
Vultures were his Judges; and then distributing great
Quantities of Flesh among his Enemies. *Pausanias*, in
the heat of his Lust, sent for *Cleonice*, a freeborn Vir-
gin of *Bizannum*, with an Intention to have enjoy'd her
all Night; but when she came, out of a strange sort of
Jealousie and Provocation, for which he could give no
reason, stabb'd her. This Murther was attended with
frightful Visions; insomuch that his Repose in the
Night was not only interrupted with the Appearance of
her Shape, but still he thought he heard her uttering
these Lines;

*To Execution go, the Gods are just,
And rarely pardon Murther joyn'd with Lust.*

After this the Apparition still haunting him, he sail'd to
Psycopompeion in *Heraclea*, and by Propitiations, Charms
and Dirges, call'd up the Ghost of the Damsel. Which
appearing before him, told him in few Words, that he
should be free from all his Affrights and Molestations
upon his Return to *Lacedemon*. Where he was no
sooner arriv'd, but he died. But notwithstanding all
this, if there were nothing that beset the Soul after the
Expiration of this Life but that Death were the End of
all

all Reward and Punishment, I might infer from thence, that the Deity was remiss, and indulgent in swiftly punishing the Wicked, and depriving them of Life. For if a Man shall assert, that space of time no otherwise afflicts the Wicked, but that the Convincement of the Crime is a fruitless and barren thing, that produces nothing of Good, nothing worthy of Amendment from the many great and terrible Combats and Agonies of the Mind, the Consideration of these things altogether subverts the Soul. As it is related of *Lyfimacus*, who, being under the violent constraint of a parching Thirst, surrender'd up his Person and his Dominions to the *Getae* for a little Drink; but after he had quench'd his Drought, and found himself a Captive, Shame of this Wickedness of mine, cry'd he, that for so small a Pleasure, have lost so great a Kingdom: But it is a difficult thing for a Man to resist the natural Necessity of mortal Passions. Yet when a Man, either out of Avarice, or Ambition of civil Honour and Power, or to gratifie his Venereal Desires, commits any enormous and hainous Crime, after which the Thirst and Rage of his Passion being allay'd, he comes to set before his Eyes the ignominious and horrible Passions tending to Injustice still remaining, but sees nothing useful, nothing necessary, nothing conducive to make his Life happy; may it not be probably conjectur'd, that such a Person is frequently solicited by these Reflexions, to consider, how rashly, either prompted by vain Glory, or for the sake of a Lawless and barren Pleasure, he has overthrown the noblest and greatest Maxims of Justice among Men, and overflow'd his Life with Shame and Trouble? As *Simonides* jesting, was wont to say, that he often found a Chest full of Silver, but always empty of true Benefit. Thus wicked Men, contemplating their own Wickedness, and observing the Returns of Pleasure so barren and fruitless, find their Ex-
pectations

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petations frustrated, but their Minds distress'd with
Fears and Sorrows, ungrateful Remembrances, Suspi-
cions of Futurity, and Distrusts of present Accidents;
as we hear *Ino* complaining upon the Theatre, after
her Repentance of what she had done.

—*Dear Women, tell me, with what Face
Shall I return to dwell with Athemas?
As if it ne're had been my luckless Fate,
The worst of foul Misdeeds to perpetrate?*

Thus is it not reason to believe, that the Soul of every
wicked Man revolves and reasons within it self, which
was by burying in oblivion former Transgressions, and
casting from it self the Guilt of hitherto committed
Crimes, to fit frail Mortality under her Conduct for a
new Course of Life. For unless we will allow unjust
and impious Persons to be wise and prudent, there is
nothing for a Man to confide in, nothing but what va-
nishes like Smoak, nothing durable or constant in what-
ever Impiety proposes to its Self; but where ever **Ava-**
rice, Voluptuousness, inexorable **Hatred**, Enmity and
Improbability associate together; there you shall also be
sure to find Superstition nestling and herding with Ef-
feminacy and Terror of Death; a swift Change of the
most violent Passions, and an arrogant Ambition after
undeserved Honour. Such Men as these stand in conti-
nual dread of their Contemners and Back-biters, they
fear their Applauders, believing themselves injur'd by
their Flatteries; and more especially, are at Enmity
with bad Men, because they are so free to extol those
that seem good. However, that which hardens Men
to Mischief, soon cankers, grows brittle, and shivers in
pieces like bad Iron. So that in process of time, com-
ing to understand themselves better, and to be more sen-
sible of their Miscarriages, they disdain, abhor, and
utterly

utterly disclaim their former Course of Life. Not that every wicked Man, who restores a Trust, or becomes Security for his Friend, or Ambitious of Honour, contributes more largely to the Benefits of his Country, may be said to be in a Condition of Repentance, or to be sorry for what he has done amiss, by reason of the natural Inclination of the Mind to ramble and change; and therefore some men being clapp'd and humm'd upon the Theater, presently fall a weeping, their Desire of Glory relapsing into Covetousness. But as for those which sacrific'd the Lives of Men to the Success of their Tyrannies and Conspiracies, as *Apollodorus*, or plunder'd their Friends of their Treasure, and depriv'd them of their Estates, as *Glaucus* the Son of *Epicides*, can we believe such Men did not repent and abhor themselves, or that they were not sorry for the Prepetration of such foul Enormities? For my part, if it may be lawful for me to deliver my Opinion, I believe there is no occasion, either for the Gods or Men to inflict their Punishment upon the most wicked and sacriligious Offenders; seeing that the Course of their own Lives is sufficient to chastize their Crimes, while they remain under the Consternations and Torments attending their Impiety. And now consider whether my Discourse have not enlarg'd it self too far. To which, *Temon*, perhaps, said he, it may seem to have been too long, if we consider what remains behind, and the length of time requir'd for the Discussion of our other Doubts. For now I am going about to propose the last Question, in pursuit of the first, which has hitherto, with an indifferent clearness been explain'd. Now as to what we have farther to say, we find that *Euripides* delivers his Mind freely, and censures the Gods for imputing the Transgression of Fore-fathers upon their Off-spring: And I am apt to believe, that they who are most silent among us, do the like. For if the Offenders themselves have

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have already receiv'd their Reward, then there is no reason why the Innocent should be punish'd, since it is not equal to punish even Criminals twice for the same Fact. But if remiss and careless, the Gods omitting opportunely to inflict their Penalties upon the Wicked, send down their tardy Rigor on the Blameless; they do not well to repair their defective Slowness by Injustice. As it is reported of *Ejop*, that he came upon a time to *Delphos*, having brought along with him a great quantity of Gold, which *Croesus* had bestow'd upon him, on purpose to offer a most magnificent Oblation to the Gods, and with a Design moreover to distribute among the Priest and People of *Delphos* four *Mina's* apiece. But there happening some Disgust and Difference between him and the *Delphians*, 'tis true, he perform'd his Solemnity, but sent back his Money to *Sardis*, not deeming those ingrateful People worthy of his Bounty. Upon which the *Delphians* laying their Heads together, accus'd him of Sacrilege, and then threw him down headlong from a steep and prodigious Precipice, which is there call'd *Hyampeia*. Upon which it is reported, that the Deity being highly incens'd against them for so horrid a Murther, brought a Famine upon the Land, and infested the People with noisom Diseases of all sorts; insomuch that they were constrain'd to make it their Business to travel to all the General Assemblies and Places of publick Concourse in *Greece*, making publick Proclamation, where e're they came, that whoever they were that would demand Justice for the Death of *Ejop*, they were prepar'd to give him Satisfaction, and to undergo whatever Penalty he should require. Three Generations afterwards, came one *Idmon* a *Samian*, no way of kin, or otherwise related to *Ejop*, but only descended from those who had purchas'd *Ejop* in *Samos*; to whom the *Delphians* paying those Forfeitures which he demanded, were deliver'd from all their

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 their pressing Calamities. And from hence, by report,
 it was, that the Punishment of Sacrilegious Persons was
 translated from the Rock *Hiampeia*, to that other Cliff
 which bears the Name of *Nauplia*. Neither is *Alexan-*
der applauded by those who have the greatest Esteem
 for his Memory (of which Number are we our selves)
 who utterly lay'd wast the City of the *Branchidae*, put-
 ting Men, Women and Children to the Sword, for that
 their Ancestors had long before deliver'd up the Tem-
 ple of *Miletum*. In like manner, *Agathocles*, Tyrant of
Syracuse, when the *Crocyræans* requested to know the rea-
 son of him, why he depopulated their Island, deriding
 and scoffing at their Demand, *By Jove*, said he, *for no o-*
ther reason, but because your Fore-fathers entertain'd Ulysses.
 And when the Islanders of *Ithaca* expostulated with him,
 why his Souldiers carry'd away their Sheep. Because,
 said he, when your King came to our Island, he put out
 the Eyes of the Shepherd himself. And therefore
 do you not think *Apollo* more extravagant then all these
 for punishing so severely the *Phedeatæ*, by stopping up
 that profound and spacious Receptracle of all those
 Floods that now cover their Country, upon a bare Re-
 port that *Herculus*, a thousand years ago, took away the
Prophetic Tripod, and carry'd it to *Pheneum*? Or when
 he foretold to the *Sybarites*, that all their Calamities
 should cease, upon condition they appeas'd the Wrath
 of *Lucadian Juno*, by enduring three ruinous Calamities
 upon their Country. Nor is it so long since, that the
Locrians surceas'd to send their Virgins to *Troy*.

*Who barefoot, all day long, nor yet allow'd
 One single Tatter, naked Skins to shroud,
 Like worst of slaves are forc'd to scrub and scowr
 Minervas Altar, and the sacred Floor.
 With hourly Pains to brush; yet all the while
 No Priviledge for Age from weary Toil.*

Nor

Nor when with years decrepit, can they claim
The thinnest veil to hide their Aged Shame.

And all this to gratifie the Lasciviousness of *Ajax*.

Now where is the Reason or Justice of all this? Nor is the Custom of the *Thracians* to be approv'd, who to this day abuse their Wives in revenge of their Cruelty to *Orpheus*: And with as little reason are the *Barbarians* about *Eridanus*, or the River *Po*, to be extoll'd, who once a year put themselves into Mourning for the Misfortune of *Phaeton*. And still more ridiculous than all this, it would certainly be, when all those People that liv'd at the time took no notice of *Phaeton's* Mischance, that they who happen'd to be born five or ten Generations after, should be so idle, as to take up the Custom of going into Black, and bewailing his Downfall. However, in all these things there is nothing to be observ'd but meer folly; nothing pernicious, nor any thing dangerous.

But as for the Anger of the Gods, what reason can be given why their Wrath should stop and conceal it self upon a sudden, after the Fact committed, like some certain Rivers, and when all things seem to be forgot, brake forth with so much Fury, as not to be atton'd, but with some remarkable Calamities?

Upon that, so soon as he had done speaking, not a little afraid, least, if he should begin again, he would run himself into many more and greater Absurdities. Do you beleive, Sir, said I, all that you have said to be true? Then he, though all that I have alledg'd may not be true, yet if only some part may be allow'd for Truth, do not you think there is the same Difficulty still remaining in the Question? It may be so, said I. And thus it is with those who labour under a vehement burning Fever, for whether cover'd with one Blanket or many, the Heat is still the same, or very little different; yet for Refreshments Sake, it may be convenient sometimes

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 to lighten the Weight of the Cloaths. Yet if the Patient refuse your Courtesie, let him alone. Yet I must tell ye, the greatest part of these Examples look like Fables and Fiction. Call to mind therefore those former Entertainments of the Gods in mortal Habitations, and that most noble Portion, which the publick Cryers proclaim to be receiv'd as their due, by the Offspring of *Pindar*; and collect with your self, how majestic and greatful a Mark of Grandeur you look upon that to be. Truly, said he, I judge there's no Man living, who would not be sensible of the Curiosity and Elegancy of such an Honour, displaying Antiquity void of Tincture and false Glitter, after the Greek manner, unless he were such a Brute, that I may use the Words of *Pindar* himself;

*Whose cole black Heart from natural Dross unpurg'd,
 Had only by cold Flames at first been forg'd.*

Therefore, I forbear, said I, to mention that same Proclamation, not much unlike to this, and usually made after the Conclusion of the *Lesbian Ode*, to the Honour, and in Memory of the ancient *Terpander*. But you, on the other side, deem your self worthy to be preferr'd above all the rest of the *Boatians*, as being of the noble Race of the *Opheltiadae*, and among the *Phoceans*, you claim undoubted pre-eminence, for the sake of your Ancestor *Diaphantus*. And, for my part, I must acknowledge that you were one of the first, who assisted me as my Second, against the *Lycromceans* and *Satilians*, claiming the Priviledge and Honour of wearing Crowns, due by the Laws of *Greece* to the Descendants from *Hercules*; at what time I affirm'd that those Honours and Guerdons ought more especially to be preserv'd inviolable to the immediate Progeny of *Hercules*; in regard that though he were so great a Benefactor to
 the

the *Greeks*, yet in his Life time, he was not thought worthy of any Reward or Return of Gratitude. You recal to my Remembrance, said he, a most noble Contest, and worthy the Debate of Philosophy it self. Dismiss, therefore, said I, that vehement Humor of yours, that excites ye to accuse the Gods; nor take it ill, if many times Celestial Punishment discharges it self upon the Off-spring of the Wicked and Vicious. Neither be too much overjoy'd, nor too forward to applaud those Honours which are due to Nobility of Birth. For it becomes us, if we beleive that the Reward of Vertue ought to be extended to Posterity, by the same reason to take it for granted, that Punishment ought not to overslip and connive at Impieties committed, but to run forward, and reciprocally pursue the Progeny of the Transgressours according to the Demerits of their Fore-fathers. And therefore they that with Pleasure behold the Race of *Cimon* highly honour'd in *Athens*; one the other side, they that fret and fume at the Exilement of the Posterity of *Lachares* or *Aeston*, are both too remiss and Oscitant in their Searches after the true Reason of things, or else too morose and overquarrelsome with the Deity it self. One while accusing the Divinity, if the Posterity of an unjust and wicked Person seems to prosper in the World; another time, no less moody and finding fault, if it fall out that the Race of the Wicked, come to be utterly destroy'd and extirpated from the Earth. And thus whether the Children of the Wicked, or the Children of the Just fall under Affliction, the Case is all one to them, the Gods must suffer alike in their bad Opinions. These, said I, are the Preliminaries, which I would have you make use of against those cholerick Accusers, and testy Sanrlers, of whom I have given you warning.

But now to take in hand once mote, as it were the first end of the Bottom of Thread, in this same dark

Discourse of the Gods, wherein there are so many Windings and Turnings, and gloomy Labyrinths; let us by degrees, and with caution, direct our Steps to what is most likely and probable. Since even in those things which fall under our daly Practice and Management, we are many times at a Loss to determine the undoubted and unquestion'd Truth. For Example, what certain Reason can be given for that Custom amongst us, of ordering the Children of Parents that dye of a Consumption, or a Dropsie, to sit with both their Feet soaking in the Water, till the Dead Body be burnt? Only People believe, that thereby the Disease is not only prevented from becoming Hereditary, but that it is a Charm to secure those Children from it as long as they live. Again, what should be the Reason that if a Goat, lighting upon a Piece of *Sea-Holly*, holding it chewing in her Mouth, the whole Herd will stand still till the Goat-herd come and take it out? Other hidden Properties there are, which by Vertue of certain incredible Touches and Transitions, pass either swifter or slower from some peculiar Bodies into Others. But we admire the Intervals of Time, and not the Distances of Place. And yet there is more reason to wonder, that *Athens* should be infected with an Epidemic Contagion, raking its Rise in *Ethiopia*; that *Pericles* should dye, and *Thucydides* be smitten with the Infection; then that upon the Impiety of the *Delphians* and *Sibarites*, delay'd Vengeance should at length overtake their Posterity. For these hidden Powers and Properties have their sacred Connexions and Correspondences between their utmost Endings, and their first Beginnings; of which, although the Causes be conceal'd from us, yet silently they bring to pass their proper Effects. Nor but that there is a Reason ready at hand for the Justice, which public Punishments shew'd down from Heaven upon particular Cities. For a City is a kind of entire Thing,

and

and a continued Body; a certain sort of Creature, never subject to the Changes and Alterations of Age, nor varying through process of time, from one thing to another, but sympathizing, and peculiar to its self, and receiving the Punishment or Reward of what ever it has done, or ever acted in common, so long as the Community, which makes it a Body, and binds it together with the mutual Bands of Human Benefit, preserves its Unity. For he that goes about, of one City to make many, and perhaps an infinite Number, by distinguishing the Intervals of Time, seems to be like a Person who would make several of one single Man, because he is now grown Elderly, who before was a young Man, and before that a meer Stripling. Or rather, it resembles the Method of Disputing amongst the *Epicharmians*, the first Authors of that Manner of Arguing, call'd the *Increase*r. He that formerly ran in Debt, although he never pay'd it, owes nothing now, as being become another Man. And he that was invited Yesterday to Supper, the next Night comes an Unbidden Guest, for that he is quite another Person; and indeed the Distinctions of Ages cause greater Alterations in every one of us, then commonly they do in Cities. For he that has seen *Athens* may know it again, thirty years after; the present Manners, Motions, Pastimes, serious Studies, their Familiarities and Marks of their Displeasure, little or nothing differing from what formerly they were, But after a long Absence there's many a Man, who meeting his own Familiar Friend, hardly knows him again, by reason of the great Alteration of his Countenance, and the Change of his Manners, which are so easily subject to the Alterations of Language, Labour and Employment, all manner of Accidents, and Mutation of Laws, that even they who are most usually conversant with him, admire to see the Strangeness and Novelty of the

Change; and yet the Man is reputed still to be the same from his Birth to his Decease. In the same manner does a City still remain the same; and for that reason we think it but Justice, that a City should as well be obnoxious to the Blame and Reproach of its ancient Inhabitants, as participate the Glory of their former puissance and Renown; unless our Carelesness be such as not to mind the throwing all things into the *Heraclitian* Reiver, into which, by common Report, it was impossible to cast the same thing twice; as having a secret Property to change the Nature of all things thrown into it. Now then if a City be one entire and continued Body; the same Opinion is to be conceived of a Race of Men, depending upon one and the same Beginning, and carrying along with it a certain Power and Communion of Qualities; in regard that what is begotten cannot be thought to be sever'd from what is begot, like a Peice of Workmanship from the Artificer; the one being begotten of the Person, the other framed by the Work-man; whereas that which is engendred is a part of the Original from whence it sprung, whether meriting Honour, or deserving Punishment. So that were is not but that I might be thought to be too sportive in a serious Discourse, I would affirm, that the *Athenians* were more unjust to the Statue of *Cassander*, when they caus'd it to be melted down and defac'd, and that the *Syracusans*, were more rigorous to the Dead Carcass of *Dionysius*, when they cast it forth of their own Confines, then if they had punish'd their Posterity. For that the Statue did no way partake of the Substance of *Cassander*, and the Soul of *Dyanysius* was absolutely departed from the Body deceas'd. Whereas *Nysseus*, *Apollocrates*, *Antiyater*, *Philip*, and several others, defended from wicked Parents, still retain'd the most principal Part of those who begot them, not lazy and sluggishly dormant, but that very Part by which they live, are

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nourish'd, act and move, and become rational and sensible Creatures. Neither is there any thing of Absurdity, if being the Off-spring of such Parents, they should retain many of their bad Qualities. In short therefore, I affirm, as it is in the Practise of Physick, that whatever is wholesome and profitable, is likewise just; and he would be accounted ridiculous, that should aver it to be an act of Injustice to Cauterize the Thumb for the Cure of the *Sciatica*; or when the Liver is Impostumated, to Scarifie the Belly; or when the Hoofs of Labouring Oxen are over tender, to anoint the Tips of their Horns. In the same manner is he to be laugh'd at, who seeks for any other Justice in the Punishment of Vice, then the Cure and Reformation of the Offender; and is angry to see the Medicine apply'd to some Parts for the Cure of others; as when a Chyrurgeon opens a Vein, to give his Patient Ease upon an Inflammation of the Eyes; for such a one seems to look no farther then what he reaches by his Sences; forgetting that a School-master, by Chastizing one admonishes all the rest of his Schollars; and that a General Condemning only one in ten, reduces all the rest to Obedience. And thus there is not only a Cure and Amendment of one part of the Body by another, but many times the very Soul it self is inclin'd to Vice or Reformation, by the Leudness or Vertue of another. For there is great reason to believe, that as the Impression, so the Alteration is the same. But the Soul being agitated by Fancy and Imagination, as it is either Daring and Confident, or Timorous and Mistrustfull, becomes better or worse.

While I was yet speaking, *Olympiacus* interrupting me, You seem, said he, by this Discourse of yours, to infer as if the Soul were Immortal, which is a Supposition of great Consequence. 'Tis very true, said I, nor is it any more then what your selves have granted already; in regard the whole Dispute has tended from the Beginning

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ning to this, that the Supream Deity overlooks, and
deals to every one of us according to our Deserts. To
which the other, Do you then believe, said he, it fol-
lows of Necessity, that the Deity observes our Acti-
ons, and distributes to every one of us according to our
Merits, that our Souls should exist, and be altogether
incorruptible, or else for a certain time survive the Bo-
dy after Death? Not so fast, good Sir, said I, But can
we think that God so little considers his own Actions,
or is such a Waster of his Time in Trifles, if we had
nothing of Divine within us, nothing that in the least
resembled his Perfection, nothing permanent and sta-
ble, but were only poor Creatures, that according to
Homers Expression, faded and dropt like wither'd Leaves,
and in a short time too; that he should make so great
account of us, like Women that bestow their Pains in
making little Gardens, no less delightful to them than
the Gardens of *Adonis*, in earthen Pans and Pots, as to
create us Souls to blossom and flourish only for a Day
in a soft and tender Body of Flesh, without any firm
and solid Root of Life, and then to be blasted and ex-
tinguish'd in a Moment, upon every slight Occasion?
And therefore, if you please, not concerning our selves
with other Deities, let us go no farther then the God
Apollo, whom here we call our own; whether he,
knowing so well as we pretend he does, that the Souls
of the Deceased vanish away like Clouds and Smoak,
exhaling from our Bodies like a Vapour, would accept
of so many Propitiations for the Dead, or require such
Honours to be pay'd, such Veneration to be given to
the Deceas'd, as if he did it to delude and couzen his
Believers? And therefore, for my part, I will never
deny the Propensity of the Soul, till some Body or o-
ther, as they say *Hercules* did of old, shall be so daring
as to come and take away the Prophetical *Tripod*, and so
quite ruine and destroy the Oracle. Well knowing,
that

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that even in these our days several Answers have been
utter'd by the Delphick Soothsayer, the same in sub-
stance which was formerly given to *Corax* the
Naxian.

*It sounds prophane Impiety,
To teach that Humane Souls e're dye.*

Then *Patrocles*, What Oracle was this? who was that
same *Corax*? For both the Master it self, and the Per-
son whom you mention, are Strangers to my Remem-
brance. Certainly, said I, that cannot be; only 'twas
my Error which occasioned your Ignorance, in ma-
king use of the Addition to the Name, instead of the
Name it self. For it was *Callondas* who slew *Archilo-
chus* in Fight. Who being thereupon ejected by the
Pythian Priestess, as one who had slain a Person devo-
ted to the Muses, but afterwards, humbling himself in
Prayers and Supplications, intermix'd with undeniable
Excuses of the Fact, was enjoin'd by the Oracle to
repair to the Habitation of *Tettix*, there to expiate his
Crime, by appeasing the Ghost of *Archilochus*. That
Place was call'd *Tenarus*, for there it was, as the Report
goes, that *Tettix* the *Cretan* coming with a Navy to
the Cape of *Tenarus*, landed, built a City not far from
Psycho Pompeius, and stor'd it with Inhabitants; near
to which, there is a peculiar Place devoted and set a-
part for appeasing the Ghosts of Persons sent out of the
World by violent Deaths.

In like manner, when the *Spartans* were commanded
by the Oracle to atone the Ghost of *Pausanias*, they
sent for several Exorcisers and Conjurers out of *Italy*,
who by Vertue of their Sacrifices, chas'd the Apparition
out of the Temple. Therefore, said I, there is one
and the same reason to confirm the Providence of God,
and the Immortality of the Soul: Neither is it possible

to admit the one, if you deny the other. Now then the Soul surviving after the Decease of the Body, the Inference is the stronger, that it partakes of Punishment and Reward; for during this mortal Life, the Soul is in continual Combat like a Wrestler; but after all those Conflicts are at an end, she then receives according to her Merits. But while the Soul is thus alone by it self, what those Punishments, what the Rewards of past Transgressions, or just and laudable Actions are, is nothing at all to us that are alive; for either they are altogether conceal'd from our Knowledge, or else we give but little Credit to them. But those Punishments that reach succeeding Posterity, being conspicuous to all that are living at the same time, restrain and curb the Inclinations of many wicked Persons. Now, in regard there is no Punishment more grievous, or that touches more to the Quick, then for a Man to behold his Children born of his Body, suffering for his Crimes; since nothing can more afflict the surviving Soul of a wicked and lawless Criminal, not so much to see his Statues defac'd, and his Memory dishonoured, by reversing the Ensigns of his Dignity; but to look down upon his own Children, his Friends, or nearest Kindred, ruin'd and overwhelm'd with Calamity; certainly, were the same Person to live again, he would rather choose the Refusal of all *Jupiters* Honours, then to abandon himself a second time to his wonted Injustice and Extravagant Desires.

And here I could relate a Story which I lately heard, but that I fear, least you should censure it for a Fable. And therefore I deem it much the better way to keep close to what is probable and consentaneous to Reason. By any means, reply'd *Olympicus*, proceed, and gratifie us with your Story also, since it was so kindly offer'd. Thereupon, when the rest of the Company likewise made me the same Request, Permit me, said I, in the first

first place, to pursue the rational Part of my Discourse, and then, according as it shall seem proper and convenient, if it be a Fable, you shall have it as cheap as I heard it.

Bio was of Opinion, that God, in punishing the Children of the Wicked, for the Sins of their Fathers, seems more irregular then a Physician that should administer Physick to a Son or a Grand-child, to cure the Distemper of a Father or a Grand-Father. But this Comparison does not run cleverly, since the Amplification of the Similitude agrees only in some things; but in others is altogether defective. For if one Man be cur'd of a Disease by Physick, the same Medicine will not cure another; nor was it ever known that any Person troubl'd with sore Eyes, or labouring under a Fever, was ever restor'd to perfect Health, by seeing another in the same Condition anointed or plaister'd. But the Punishments or Executions of Malefactors are done publickly in the Face of the World, to the end that Justice appearing to be the Effect of Prudence and Reason, some may be restrain'd by the Correction inflicted upon others. So that *Bio* never rightly apprehended where the Comparison answer'd to our Question. For oftentimes it happens, that a Man comes to be haunted with a troublesome, though not incurable Disease, and through Sloath and Intemperance, improves his Distemper, and weak'ns his Body to that Degree, that he occasions his own Death. After this, 'tis true, the Son does not fall Sick, only has receiv'd from his Fathers Seed such a Habit of Body as makes him liable to the same Disease: which a good Physician, or a tender Friend, or a skillful Apothecary, or a careful Master observing, confines him to a strict and spare Diet, restrains him from all manner of Superfluity, keeps him from all the Temptations of delicious Fair, Wine and Women, and making use of wholesome and proper Physick, together

together with convenient Exercise, dissipates and extirpates the Original Cause of a Distemper at the beginning, before it grow to a Head, and gets a masterless Dominion over the Body. And is it not our usual Practice, thus to admonish those that are born of Diseas'd Parents, to take timely Care of themselves, and not to neglect the Malady, but to expel the Original Nourishment of the Inbred Evil, as being then easily moveable, and apt for Expulsion? 'Tis very true, cry'd they. Therefore, said I, we cannot be said to do an absurd thing, but what is absolutely necessary; not that which is ridiculous, but what is altogether useful; while we prescribe to the Epileptic, the Hypochondriacal, and to those that are subject to the Gour; such Exercises, Diet and Remedies that are proper, not so much because they are at that time troubled with the Distemper, but to prevent the Malady. For a Man begotten by an unsane Body, does not therefore deserve Punishment, but rather the Preservation of proper Physick and good Regiment; which if any one call the Punishment of Fear or Effeminacy, because the Person is debar'd his Pleasures, and put to some sort of Pain by Cupping and Blistering, we mind not what he says. If then it be of such Importance to preserve by Physick and other proper Means, the vitiated Off-spring of another Body, foul and corrupted, ought we to suffer the innate and resembling Principles of a wicked Nature sprouting up, and budding through evil Custom in Youth, and to stay till being diffus'd into all the Affections of the Mind, they bring forth and ripen the visible and malignant Fruit of a mischievous Disposition? for such is the Expression of *Pindar*. Or can you otherwise believe, but that in this particular, God is wiser than *Hesiod*, admonishing and exhorting us in this manner?

*Nor mind the Pleasures of the Genial Bed,
Returning from th' Interment of the Dead:
But propagate the Race, when Heavenly Food,
And Feasting with the Gods have warm'd the Blood.*

Intimating thereby, that a Man was never to attempt the Work of Generation, but in the height of a jocund and merry Humor, and when he found himself as it were dissolved into jollity ; as if from Procreation proceeded the Impressions not only of Vice or Virtue, but of Sorrow and Joy, and of all other Qualities and Affections whatever. However, it is not the Work of Human Wisdom, as *Hesiod* supposes, but of Divine Providence, to foresee the Sympathies and Differences of Mens Natures, before the Malignant Infection of their unruly Passions come to exert it self by hurrying their unadvised Youth into a thousand Villanous Miscarriages. For though the Cubs of Bears and Whelps, of Wolves and Apes, immediately discover their several inbred Qualities and natural Conditions, without any Disguise or artificial Concealment ; Man is nevertheless a Creature more refin'd, who many times curb'd by the Shame of transgressing common Customs, universal Opinion, or the Law, conceals the Evil that is within him, and imitates only what is laudable and honest. So that he may be thought to have altogether cleans'd and rins'd away the Strains and Imperfections of his vicious Disposition, and so cunningly for a long time to have kept his natural Corruption, wrapt up under the covering of Craft and Dissimulation, that we are scarce sensible of the Fallacy till we feel the Stripes or Sting of his Injustice ; believing Men to be only then unjust, when they offer Wrong to our selves ; Lascivious when we see them abandoning themselves to their Lusts ; and Cowards, when we see them

them turning their Backs upon the Enemy; just as if any Man should be so idle, as to believe a Scorpion had no Sting until he felt it; or that a Viper had no Venom, until it bit him; which is a silly Conceit. For there is no Man that only then became Wicked, when he appear'd to be so. But having the Seeds and Principles of Iniquity within him long before, the Thief then steals when he meets with a fit Opportunity; and the Tyrant Violats the Law, when he finds himself surrounded with sufficient Power. But neither is the Nature and Disposition of any Man conceal'd from God, as taking upon him with more Exactness to scrutinize the Soul then Body; nor does he tarry till actual Violence or Leudness be committed, to punish the Hands of the Wrong-doer, the Tongue of the Prophane, or the transgressing Members of the Lascivious and Obscene. For he does not exercise his Vengeance on the Unjust, for any Wrong that He has receiv'd by his Unjustice: nor is he angry with the High-way Robber, for any Violence done to himself; nor does he abominate the Adulterer, for defiling his Bed. But many times, by way of Cure and Reformation chastize the Adulterer, the Covetous Miser, and the Wronger of his Neighbours, as Physicians endeavor to subdue an Epilepsie, by preventing the coming of the Fits.

What shall I say? But even a little before we were offended at the Gods protracting and delaying the Punishments of the Wicked; and now we are as much displeas'd, that they do not curb and chastize the Depravities of an evil Disposition before the Fact committed. Not considering that many times a Mischief contriv'd for future Execution, may prove more dreadful then a fact already committed; and dormant Villany may be more dangerous then open and apperent Iniquity. Not being able to apprehend the Reason wherefore it is much safer to bear with the unjust Actions of some Men, then to prevent the Meditating and Contrivance

vance of Mischief in others. As in truth, we do not rightly comprehend, why some Remedies and Physical Druggs are no way convenient for those that labour under a real Disease, yet wholesome and profitable for those that are seemingly in Health, but yet perhaps in a worse Condition then they who are Sick. Whence it comes to pass, that the Gods do not always turn the Transgressions of Parents upon their Children; but if a vertuous Son happen to be the Off-spring of a wicked Father, as often it falls out that a Sane Child is born of one that is unsound and crazies, such a one is exempted from the Punishment which threatens the whole Descent, as one begot in Sin, as it is barely a Quality. But for a young Man that treads in the Footsteps of a Criminal Race, it is but just, that as Heir to his Fathers Estate, he should succeed to the Punishment of his Ancestors Iniquity. For neither was *Antigonus* punish'd for the Crimes of *Demetrius*, nor *Phyleus* for the Transgressions of *Augeas*; nor *Nestor* for the Impiety of *Neleus*, in regard that though their Parents were wicked, yet they were vertuous themselves. But as for those whose Nature has embrac'd and espous'd the Vices of their Parentage, them holy Vengeance prosecutes, pursuing the Likeness and Resemblance of Sin. For as the Warts and Moles, and Freckles of Parents not seen upon the Children of their own begetting, many times afterwards appear again upon the Children of their Sons and Daughters; and as the *Grecian* Woman that brought forth a Blackamore Infant, for which she was accus'd of Adultery, prov'd her self, upon diligent enquiry, to be the Off-spring of an *Ethiopian*, after four Generations; and as among the Children of *Pytho*, the *Nisibian*, said to be descended from the *Spartans*, that were the Progeny of those Men that sprung from the Teeth of *Cadmus's* Dragon, the youngest of his Sons, who lately dy'd, was born with the Print of a Spear upon his

his Body, the usual Mark of that ancient Line, which not having been seen for many Revolutions of Years before, started up again, as it were out of the Deep, and shew'd it self the renew'd Testimonial of the Infants Race; so many times it happens, that the first Descents and eldest Races hide and drown the Passions and Affections of the Mind peculiar to the Family, which afterward bud forth again, and display the natural Propensity of the succeeding Progeny to Vice or Vertue. Having thus concluded, I held my Peace, at what time *Olympiacus* smiling. We forbore, as yet said he, to give you our Approbation, that we may not seem to have forgot the Fable; not but that we believe your Discourse to have been sufficiently made out by Demonstration, only we reserve our Opinion till we shall have heard the Relation of that likewise. Upon which I began again after this manner: There was one *Soleus a Thespesian*, the Friend and Familiar Acquaintance of that *Petogenes*, who for some time convers'd among us. This Gentleman in his Youth leading a debauch'd and intemperate Life, in a short time spent his Patrimony, and then for some years became very Wicked; but afterwards repenting his former Follies and Extravagancies, and pursuing the Recovery of his lost Estate, by all manner of Tricks and Shifts, did as is usual with dissolute and lascivious Youth, who when they have Wives of their own, never mind them at all; but when they have dismiss'd them, and find them marry'd to others that watch them with a more vigilant Affection, endeavour to corrupt and vitiate them by all the unjust and wicked Provocations imaginable. In this Humor, abstaining from nothing that was lewd and illegal, so it tended to his Gain and Profit; he got no great matter of Wealth, but procur'd to himself a World of Infamy by his unjust and knavish Dealing with all sorts of people. Yet nothing made him more
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the Talk of Country, then the Answer which was brought him back from the Oracle of *Amphilocus*. For thither it seems he sent to enquire of the Deity, whether he should live any better the remaining part of his Life. To which the Oracle return'd, that it would be better with him after he was dead. And indeed, not long after, in some measure it so fell out; for that happening to fall from a certain Precipice upon his Neck, though he receiv'd no Wound, nor broke any Limb, yet the Force of the Fall beat the Breath out of his Body. Three Days after, being carry'd forth to be bury'd, as they were just ready to let him down into the Grave, of a sudden he came to himself, and recovering his Strength, so alter'd the whole Course of his Life, that it was almost incredible to all that knew him. For by the Report of the *Cilicians*, there never was in that Age a juster Person in common Dealings between Man and Man, more Devout and Religious, as to Divine Worship, more an Enemy to the Wicked, nor more constant and faithful to his Friends; which was the reason that they who were most conversant with him, were desirous to hear from himself the Cause of so great an Alteration, not believing that so great a Reformation could proceed from bare Chance; though it were true that it did so, as he himself related to *Protogenes* and others of his choicest Friends. For when his Sense first left his Body, it seem'd to him as if he had been some Pilot flung from the Helm by the force of a Storm into the midst of the Sea. Afterwards, rising up again above Water by degrees, so soon as he thought he had fully recover'd his Breath, he lookt about him every way, as if one Eye of his Soul had been open. But he beheld nothing of those things which he was wont formerly to see, only he saw Stars of a vast Magnitude, at an immense distance one from the other, and sending forth a Light most wonderful for the brightness of its

Colour,

Colour, which shot it self out in length with an incredible force: one which the Soul riding, as it were in a Chariot, was most swiftly, yet as gently and smoothly dandl'd from one place to another. But omitting the greatest part of the Sights which he beheld, he saw, as he said the Souls of such as were newly departed, as they mounted from below, resembling little fiery Bubbles, to which the Air gave way. Which Bubbles afterwards breaking insensibly, and by degrees, the Souls came forth in the Shapes of Men and Women, light and nimble, as being discharg'd of all their Earthly Substance. However, they differ'd in their Motion, for some of them leap'd forth with a wonderful Swiftness, and mounted up in a direct Line. Others like so many Spindles of Spinning-wheels turn'd round and round; sometimes whisking upwards, sometimes darting downward, with a confus'd and mix'd Agitation, that in a very long time, and then hardly could be stoopp'd.

The most part of these Souls he knew not who they were, only perceiving two or three of his Acquaintance, he endeavour'd to have approach'd and discours'd them. But they neither heard him speak, neither indeed did they seem to be in their right Senses, but in a deep Consternation, avoiding either to be seen or felt; they frisk'd up and down at first alone and apart by themselves, till meeting at length with others in the same Condition, they clung together; but still their Motions where with the same giddiness and uncertainty as before, without any steerage of Discretion or purpose of tending any whither: yet sending forth inarticulate Sounds like the Cries of Souldiers in Combat, intermix'd with the doleful Yels of Fear and Lamantation. Others there were tow'd aloft in the upper Region of the Air and these lookt gay and pleasant, and kindly and familiarly acosted each other with a more then ordinary shew of Civility and Respect. Nevertheless they
seem'd

seem'd to shew a Kind of discontent when they were crouded and huddl'd together, but to rejoyce, and were well pleas'd when expanded and at Liberty. One of these, said he, being the Soul of a certain Kinsman, which because the Person dy'd when he was but very young, he did not very well know, drew near him, and saluted him by the Name of *Thespesius*; at which, being in a kind of Amazement, and saying, his Name was not *Thespesius*, but *Aridæus*; the Spirit reply'd, 'twas true, that formerly he was so call'd, but that from thenceforth he must be *Thespesius*, that is to say, Divine. For thou art not in the Number of the Dead as yet, but by a certain Destiny and Premission of the Gods, thou art come hither only with thy intellectual Faculty, having left the rest of thy Soul, like an Anchor, in thy Body. And that thou may'st be assur'd of this, observe it for a certain Rule, both now and hereafter, that the Souls of the Deceas'd neither cast any Shadow, neither do they open and shut their Eyelids. *Thespesius* having heard this Discourse, was so much the more encourag'd to make use of his own Reason, and therefore looking round about to prove the Truth of what had been told him, he could perceive that there follow'd him a kind of obscure and Shadow-like Line, whereas those other Souls shone like a round Body of perfect Light, and were transparent within; and yet there was a very great difference between them too; for that some yielded a smooth, even and contiguous Lustre, all of one Colour, like the Full-moon in her brightest Splendor. Others were mark'd with long Scales, or slender Streaks, distinguishing the Spaces between. Others were all over spotted and very ugly to look upon as being cover'd with black Speckles like the Skins of Vipers.

Moreover, this Kinsman of *Thespesius* (for nothing hinders but that we may call the Souls by the Names of

the Persons with they enliven'd, proceeding to give a Relation of several other things; inform'd his Friend, How that *Adrastia*, the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Necessity*, was seated in the highest Place of all, to punish all Manner of Crimes and Enormities, and that in the whole Number of the Wicked and Ungodly, there never was any one, whither Great or Little, High or Low, Rich or Poor, that ever could by Force or Cunning, escape the severe Lashes of her Rigour. But as there are three sorts of punishments, so there are three several Furies, or female Ministers of Justice, and to every one of these belongs a peculiar Office and Degree of Punishment. The first of these was call'd *Norm* or *Pain*; whose Executions are swift and speedy upon those that are presently to receive Bodily Punishment in this Life, and which she manages after a more gentle manner, omitting the Correction of slight Offences, which need but little Expiation. But if the Cure of Impiety require a greater Labour, the Deity delivers those, after Death, to *Dice* or *Revenge*. But when *Dice* has given them over as altogether incurable, then the third and most severe of all *Adrastia's* Ministers, *Erimys* takes them in hand, and after she has chas'd and cours'd them from one place to another, flying, yet not knowing where to fly, for Shelter or Relief, plagu'd and tormented with a thousand Miseries, she plunges them headlong into an invilible Abyss, the Hideousness of which no Tongue can express.

Now of all these three sorts of Punishments, that which is inflicted by *Pain* in this Life, resembles the Practice among the *Barbarians*. For as among the *Persians*, they take off the Garments and Turbants of those that are to be punish'd; and tear and whip them before the Offenders Faces, while the Criminals, with Tears and Lamentations, beseech the Executioners to give over, so Corporeal Punishments and Penalties by Mules and

Fines,

Fines, have not that sharpness of Severity, nor do they reach the Deserts of the Vice, but are accounted great or excessive according to Opinion, and a Sense of the Pain or Detriment which the Offender feels. But if any one comes hither, that has escap'd Punishment while he liv'd upon Earth, and before he was well purg'd from his Crimes, *Dice* takes him to task, naked as he is, with his Soul display'd, as having nothing to conceal or veil his Impiety; but on all sides, and to all Mens Eyes, and every way expos'd, she shews him first to his honest Parents, if he had any such, to let them see how degenerate he was, and unworthy of his Progenitors. But if they were wicked likewise, then are their Sufferings rendred yet more terrible by the mutual Sight of each others Miseries, and those for a long time inflicted, till the remorseless Fury has quite defac'd each individual Crime with Pains and Torments, as far surmounting in Sharpness and Severity all Punishments and Tortures of the Flesh, as what is real and evident surpasses an Idle Dream. But the Wheals and Stripes that remain after Punishment, appear more signal in some, in others are less evident. View there, said he, those various Colours of Souls. That same black and sordid Hue, is the Tincture of Avarice and Fraud. That bloody and flame-like Dye, betokens Cruelty, and an imbitter'd desire of Revenge. Where you perceive a blewish Colour, 'tis a sign that Soul will hardly be cleans'd from the Impurities of Lascivious Pleasure and Voluptuousness. Lastly, that same dark violet and venomous Colour, resembling the sordid Ink which the Cuttle Fish spews up, proceeds from Envy. For as during Life, the Wickedness of the Soul being govern'd by Human Passions, and governing the Body, occasions this variety of Colours, so here they are the End of Expiation and Punishment. For these being cleans'd away, the Soul recovers her Native

Lustre, and becomes clear and spotless. But so long as these remain, there will be some certain Returns of the Passions, accompany'd with little Pantings and Beatings, as it were of the Pulse; in some remiss and languid, and quickly extinguish'd; in others more quick and vehement, which being thoroughly chaisiz'd, recover a due Habit and Disposition. But the other, by the Force of Ignorance, and the enticing shew of Pleasure, are carry'd into the Bodies of Brute Beasts. For the Feebleness of their Ratiocinating, while their Sloathfulness will not permit them to contemplate, hurries them to the active part of Generation; on the other side, wanting the Instrument of Intemperance, yet desirous to gratifie their Desires with the full Swinge of Enjoyment, they endeavor to promote their Design by means of the Body. But alas, here is nothing but an imperfect Shadow and Dream of Pleasure, that never attains to Ability of performance.

Having thus said, the Spirit carry'd *Thespheus* to a certain place, as it appear'd to him, prodigiously spacious; yet so gently, and without the least Diviation, that he seem'd to be born upon the Rays of the Light, as if he had sat upon the Wings of an Eagle. Thus at length he came to a certain gaping Chawn, that was fadomless downward, where he found himself deserted by that extraordinary Force which brought him thither, and perceiv'd other Souls also to be there in the same Condition. For hovering upon the Wing in Flocks together like Birds, they kept flying round and round the yawning Rift, but durst not enter into it. Now this same Cleft within side, resembl'd the Dens of *Bacchus*, fring'd about with the pleasing Verdure of various Herbs and Plants, that yielded a more delightful Prospect still of all sorts of Flowers, enamelling the Green so with a wonderful diversity of Colours, and breathing forth at the same time, a soft and gentle Breeze, which

which perfum'd all the Ambient Air with Odors most surprizing, and more grateful to the Smell then the sweet Flavour of Wine to those that Love it. Inso-much, that the Souls banqueting upon these Fragrancies, were almost all dissolv'd in Raptures of Mirth and Carresses one among another, there being nothing to be heard for some fair distance round about the place, but Jollity and Laughter, and all the chearful Sounds of Joy and Harmony, which are usual among People that pass their Time in Sport and Merriment.

The Spirit said moreover, that *Bacchus* ascended through this Overture to Heaven, and afterwards returning fetch'd up *Semele* the same way; and that it was call'd the *Place of Oblivion*. Wherefore his Kinsman would not suffer *Thespesius* to tarry there any longer, though very unwilling to depart, but took him away by Force; informing and instructing him withal, how strangely, yet how suddenly the Mind was subject to be softned and melted by Pleasure; that the Irrational and Corporeal Part being water'd and incarnated thereby, revives the Memory of the Body, and that from that Remembrance proceeds Concupiscence and Desire, exciting an Appetite to Generation; which is therefore call'd a violent Propensity bearing down the Soul by the Weight of its Moisture.

At length, after he had been carry'd as far another way, as when he was transported to the yawning Overture, he thought he beheld a prodigious standing Goblet, into which several Rivers discharg'd themselves. Among which there was one whiter then Snow, or the Foam of the Sea; another resembled the Purple Colour of the Rain-bow. The Tinctures of the rest were various; besides that, they had their several Lustres at a distance. But when he drew nearer, and that the Ambient Air became more subtil and rarify'd, and that the Colours vanish'd, the Goblet retain'd no more of its

flourishing Beauty, except the White. At the same time he saw three *Demons* sitting together in a Triangular Aspect, and blending and mixing the Rivers together with certain Measures. Thus far, said the Guide of *Thespeius's* Soul, did *Orpheus* come, when he sought after the Soul of his Wife, and not well remembring what he had seen, upon his return, rais'd a false Report in the World, That the Oracle at *Delphos* was in common, as well to *Night* as to *Apollo*, whereas *Apollo* never had any thing in common with *Night*. But, said the Spirit, This Oracle is in common to *Night* and to the *Moon*, no way included within earthly Bounds, nor having any fix'd or certain Seat, but always wandring among Men in Dreams & Visions. For from hence it is that all Dreams are dispers'd, compounded as they are, after Truth has been jumbld with Falshood, and Sincerity with the various Mixtures of Craft and Delusion. But as for the Oracle of *Apollo*, said the Spirit, you neither do see it, neither can you behold it. For the earthy part of the Soul is not capable to release or let it self loose; nor is it permitted to reach Sublimity, but swags downward, as being fasten'd to the Body. And with that, leading *Thespeius* nearer, the Spirit endeavour'd to shew him the Light of the *Tripes*, which, as he said, shooting through the Bosom of *Themis*, fell upon *Parnassus*; which *Thespeius* was desirous to see, but could not, in regard the extraordinary Brightness of the Light dazld his Eyes; only passing by, he heard the shrill Voice of a Woman, speaking in Verse and Measure, and among other things, as he thought, foretelling the time of his Death. This the Genius told him was the Voice of a *Sybil*, that being orbicularly whirl'd about in the Face of the Moon, continually sang of future Events. Thereupon being desirous to have heard more, he was tols'd the quite contrary way, by the violent Motion of the Moon, as by the force of the Waves, so that he could
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hear but very little, and that very concisely too. Among other things, he learnt something concerning the Mountain *Vesuvius*, and the Burning of *Dicaearchia*, occasioned by a casual Fire; together with a piece of a Verse concerning a certain Emperor or great famous Chieftain of that Age.

*Who though so just, that no Man could accuse,
Howe're his Empire should by Sickness loose.*

After this, they pass'd on to behold the Torments of those that were punish'd. And indeed at first they met with none but lamentable and dismal Sights. For *Thespesius*, when he least expected any such thing, and before he was aware, was got among his Kindred, his Acquaintance and Companions, who groaning under the horrid Pains of their cruel and ignominious Punishments, with mournful Cries and Lamentations, call'd him by his Name. at length he saw his Father ascending out of a certain Abyss, all full of Stripes, Gashes and Scars; who stretching forth his Hands, and not able to keep Silence, but constrain'd to confess by the Scourges of his Torments, acknowledg'd that he had most impiously poyson'd several of his Guests for the Sake of their Gold; of which, not being detected while he liv'd upon Earth, but being convicted after his decease, he had endur'd part of his Torments already, and that now they were haling him where he should suffer more. However, he durst not either intreat or intercede for his Father, such was his Fear and Consternation; and therefore being desirous to retire, and be gon, he look'd about for his kind and courteous Guide; but he had quite left him, so that he saw him no more. Nevertheless, being push'd forward by other deform'd and grim-look'd Goblins, as if there had been some necessity for him to pass forward, he saw

how that the Shadows of such as had been notorious Malefactors, and had been punished in this World, were not so grievously tormented, nor alike to others, in regard that only the imperfect and irrational part of the Soul, and which was consequently most subject to Passions, was that which made them so industrious in Vice. Whereas they who had shrouded a vicious and impious Life, under the outward Profession, and a gain'd Opinion of Vertue, those their Tormentors constrain'd to turn their Insides outward, and with great Difficulty and dreadful Pain, to writhe and screw themselves contrary to the Course of Nature, like the Sea Scolopenders, which having swallow'd the Bait, throw forth their Bowels and lick it out again. Others they flead and scarify'd, to display their occult Hipocrisies and latent Impieties, which were grounded, and had corrupted the principal Part of their Souls. Other Souls, as he said, he also saw, which being twisted two and two, three and three, or more together, gnaw'd and devour'd each other, either upon the Score of old Grudges and former Malice which they had born one another, or else in Revenge of the Injuries and Losses they had sustain'd from such or such of their Acquaintance upon Earth. Moreover, he said, that there were certain Lakes that ran parallel and equidistant one from the other, the one of boyling Gold, another of Lead, exceeding Cold, and a third of Iron, which was very scaly and rugged. By the sides of these Lakes stood certain *Demons*, that with their Instruments, like Smiths or Founders, put in or drew out the Souls of such as had transgressed, either through Avarice, or an eager Desire of other Mens Goods. For the Flame of the Golden Furnace having render'd these Souls of a fiery and transparent Colour, they plung'd them into that of Lead, where after they were congeal'd and harden'd into a Substance like Hail, they were then thrown into
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the Lake of Iron, where they became black and deform'd, and being broken & crumbld by the Roughness of the Iron, chang'd their Form, and being thus transform'd, they were again thrown into the Lake of Gold; in all these Transmutations, enduring most dreadful and horrid Torments. But they that suffer'd the most dire and dismal Torture of all, were those who thinking that Divine Vengeance had no more to say to them, were again seiz'd and dragg'd to repeated Execution; and these were such, as for whose Transgression their Children or Posterity had suffer'd. For when any of the Souls of those Children come hither and meet with any of their Parents or Ancestors, they fall into a Passion, exclaim against them, and shew them the Marks of what they have endur'd. On the other side, the Souls of the Parents endeavour to sneak out of sight and hide themselves; but the others follow them so close at the Heels, and load them in such a manner with bitter Taunts and Reproaches, and not being able to escape, their Tormentors presently lay hold of them, and hawl them to new Tortures, howling and yelling at the very thought of what they have suffer'd already. And some of these Souls of suffering Posterity, he said, there were, that swarm'd and clung together like Bees or Batts, and in that Posture murmur'd forth their angry Complaints of the Miseries and Calamities which they had endur'd for their Sakes. The last thing that he saw, were the Souls of such, as being design'd for a second Life, were bow'd, bent and transform'd into all sorts of Creatures by the force of Tools and Anvils, and the Strength of Work-men appointed for that purpose, that lay'd on without Mercy, bruising the whole Limbs of some, breaking others, disjoynting others, and pounding some to Powder and Annihilation, on purpose to render them fit for other Lives and Manners. Among the rest, he saw the Soul of *Nero*, many ways most grievously tortur'd,

tur'd, but more especially transfix'd with Iron Nails. This Soul the Work-men took in hand, but when they had forg'd it into the Form of one of *Pindars Vipers*, which eats its Way to Life through the Bowels of the Female, of a sudden, a conspicuous Light shone out, and a Voice was heard out of the Light, which gave order for the Transfiguring it again into the Shape of some more mild and gentle Creature, and so they made it to resemble one of those Creatures that usually Sing and Croak about the sides of Ponds and Marshes. For indeed he had in some measure been punish'd for the Crimes he had committed; besides that, there was some Compassion due to him from the Gods, for that he had restor'd the *Grecians* to their Liberty, a Nation the most Noble, and best belov'd of the Gods among all his Subjects. And now being about to return, such a terrible Dread surpriz'd *Thespeus*, as had almost frighted him out of his Wits. For a certain Woman, admirable for her Form and Stature, laying hold of his Arm. Come hither, said she, that thou may'st the better be Enabl'd to retain the Remembrance of what thou hast seen. With that she was about to have struck him with a small fiery Wand, not much unlike to those that Painters use; but another Woman prevented her. After this, as he thought himself, he was whirl'd or hurry'd away with a strong and violent Wind, forc'd as it were through a Pipe, and so lighting again into his own Body, he began to look about him, as one that was hardly out of his Grave.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals :

Vol. IV.

Of Natural Affection towards ones Off-Spring.

*Translated from the Greek by Richard
Brown, M. L.*

AS Appeals to Foreign Judicatures first came in request among the *Grecians*, out of their Distrust of one another's Justice, they deeming it as requisite to fetch Justice from abroad, as any other necessary Commodity, which was not of their own Growth : Even so Philosophers, by reason of Dissensions amongst themselves, have in the Decision of some Questions, appealed to the Nature of irrational Beings, as to a strange City, and have submitted the final Determination of such Questions to the Affections and Dispositions of Brutes, as being unbiassed and not corrupted by Bribes. And this is the general Complaint of Human Frailty, that while we differ about the most necessary, and the greatest Things, we consult Horses, Dogs and Birds, how we should marry, beget Children, and bring them up; and, as if the Evidence of Nature in our selves were not to be trusted, we appeal to the Disposition and Affections of brute Brasts, and testifie against the manifold Transgressions
of

of our own Lives, intimating how at the very first, and in the first things we are confounded and disturbed. For Nature conserves the Propriety in them pure, unmixt and simple; but in Men, the Mixture of ascititious Opinions and Judgments (as Oyl is serv'd by the Druggists) alters the Proprieties, and does not preserve what is their Peculiar. Nor need we wonder, if irrational Animals follow Nature more then Rational; for Plants do it more then Animals, they having neither Imagination nor Passion to avert their Appetite, fixt according to Nature, but are bound in Chains, and ever go that one way that Nature leadsthem. Brutes do little regard Gentleness, Wit or Liberty, they have indeed the Use of irrational Incitements and Appetites, which put them upon wandring and running about, but seldom far, for they seem to lye at the Anchor of Nature. As a Rider guides his Ass in the right way by Bit and Bridle, so Reason, the Lord and Master in Man, finds sometimes one turning, sometimes another, but in all its Wandrings leaves no mark or Footstep of Nature. But in Brutes, observe how all things are accommodated to Nature. As to Marriages, they tarry not till Laws are passed against Celibacy and late Marriages, as *Lycurgus* and *Solon's* Citizens did; they matter not the Disgrace of wanting Children, nor are ambitious of the Honour of having three Chlldren, as many Romans marry, and get Children, not that they may have Heirs, but that they may get Estates. Again, the Male accompanies with the Female not at all times, because not Pleasure, but Procreation is his end. Therefore in the Spring time, when the fruitful Breezes blow, and the Air is of a pregnant Temper, then the Female approaches the Male, gentle and desirable, wantoning in the sweet Smell and peculiar Ornament of her Body, full of Dew and pure Grass; and when she perceives she has conceived, she modestly departs, and provides
for

for her bringing forth, and for the Safety of what she shall bring forth. What Brutes do, cannot be sufficiently exprest; in all of them, their Affection to their Young is evident by their Providence, Patience and Continenace. Indeed we call the Bee wise, and we celebrate the *Yellow Honey-maker*, flattering her for glutting us with her Sweetness; but the Wisdom and Art of other Creatures, about their bringing forth, and the rearing their Young, we wholly neglect. For instance, first, the Kings-Fisher, when she has conceived, makes her Nest of the Prickles of the Sea-needle, weaving them one among another, in form of a long Fishing-Ner, very thick and uniform; then she puts it under the Dashing of the Waters, that being by degrees beaten upon and milled, it may acquire a smooth Surface, and it becomes so solid, that it cannot easily be divided by either Stone or Iron. And what is more wonderful, the Mouth of the Nest is so exactly fitted to the Kings-Fisher, that neither a greater nor a less Animal can live in it; for when she is in (as they say) it will not admit the Sea-water. Some sorts of Cats also, when they have brought forth their Young, let them go abroad to Feed, and then take them into their Bellies again, when they go to sleep. The Bear, a most fierce and ugly Beast, brings forth her Young shapeless and without Limbs, but with her Tongue, as with a Tool, she shapes the Members, so that she seems not only to bring forth, but to work out her Young. And does not *Homer's* Lionsess.

———*Who,*

*When leading of her Whelps, she's met i' th' Wood
By Huntsmen, first with Scorn she them descries,
Then down drops Courage, and she hides her Eyes.*

Do's she not, I say, look as if she were contriving how to make a Bargain with the Huntsman for her Whelps? For generally the Love of their Young makes bold Creatures timorous, the Slothful industrious, and the Voracious parcimonious. So *Homer's Bird Gives to her Young, though with her self it go hard.* She feeds them by starving her self, and when she has taken up her Food, she lays it down again, and keeps it down with her Bill, lest she should swallow it unawares.

*For tender Whelps, when Strangers comes in sight,
The barking Bitch prepares her self to fight.*

And Fear for her young turns into a second Passion. When Partridges and their Young are pursued, the Old suffer the Young to fly away before, so contriving that the Fowler may think to catch them; thus they hover about, run forward a little, then return again, and so detain the Fowler, till their Young are safe. We daily behold Hens, how they cherish their Chickens, taking some of them under their spread Wings, suffering others of them to run upon their Backs, and taking them in again, with a Voice expressing Kindness and Joy. When themselves are concern'd, they fly from Dogs and Serpents, but to defend their Chickens, they will venture beyond their Strength and fight. And shall we think that Nature has bred such Affections in these Creatures, as if she were solicitous for the Propagation of Hens, Dogs and Bears, and that she would not by these means make us ashamed; Certainly we must conclude that these Creatures following the Duct of Nature, are for our Example, and they must upbraid the Remorsefulness of Humanity, of which Human Nature alone is culpable, it not being capable of gratuitous Love, nor knowing how to be a Friend without Profit. Well therefore might the Comedian be admired,

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ed, who said, *For Reward only Man loves Man.* Epicurus thinks that after this manner Children are beloved of their Parents, and Parents of their Children. But if the Benefit of Speech were allowed to Brutes, and if Horses, Cows, Dogs and Birds were brought upon the Stage, the Song would be chang'd, and it would be said, that neither the Bitch loved her Whelps for Gain, nor the Mare her Foal, nor Fowls their Chickens; but that they were all beloved *Gratis*, and by impulse of Nature: By the Affection of all Brutes, this Assertion would be approved as just and true. And is it not a shame, that the Procreation of Beasts, their Birth, Pains in Birth, and their Education should be by Nature *Gratis*; and that for these very things Man should require Usury, Rewards and Bribes? This Assertion can never be true, nor ought it to be believed. For as in wild Plants, such are wild Vines, Figs and Olives, Nature has implanted the Principles of cultivated Fruit, though crude and imperfect; so she has endowed Beasts with a Love of their Young, though imperfect and not attaining to Justice, nor proceeding further than Utility. But in Man whom she produced a rational and political Being, inclining him to Justice, Law, Religion, Building of Cities, and Friendship; she hath placed the Seeds of these things generous, fair and fruitful *i.e.* the Love of their Children, following the first Principles; which entered the Constitution of Bodies. For Terms and Expressions are wanting to declare with what Industry Nature, who is skilful, unerring, and not to be surpassed, and (as *Erasistratus* says,) has nothing idle or frivolous; how she, I say, has contrived all things pertaining to the Procreation of Mankind; for Modesty will not permit it. The making and Economy of Milk sufficiently speak her Providence and Care. In Women, what Blood abounds more then serves for necessary Uses, and through its Languidness and Want
of

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of Spirit, wandering about, disturbs the Body; that at other times is by Nature in monthly Periods discharged by proper Canals and Passages, for the Relief and Purgation of the Body, and to render the Womb like a Field fit for the Plow and Seed, and desirous of it at Seasons. But when the Womb has caught the Seed, and it has taken Root (for the Navil, as *Democritus* says, grows first, like an Anchor to keep the *Fœtus* from fluctuating, or as a Stay or Footstalk to the Child) then Nature stops the Passages proper for monthly Purgation, and keeps the superfluous Blood then for Nourishment, and waters the Birth with it, which is formed and fashioned, till at a set number of Days it encreases in the Womb, and seeks another place, and other sort of Food. Then Nature, more diligent than any Husband-Man, deriving the Blood to other Uses, has as it were some subterranean Fountains, which receive the affluent Liquors, and they receive them not negligently, nor without Affection; but with the gentle Heat and womanish Softness, concoct, mollifie and alter them; for in this manner are the Breasts internally affected and tempered. And Milk is not poured out of them by Pipes in a full Stream; but the Breasts terminating in Flesh, that is pervious by small and insensible Passages, do afford store of sweet and pleasant Sucking. But for all this, such and so many Instruments for Procreation, such Preparation, so great Industry and Providence were all to no purpose, unless Nature had inbred in the Mothers a Love and Care of their Off-spring.

*Then Man more wretched nought takes Breath,
Not th' vilest thing that creeps on Earth.*

Which infallibly holds good of Infants new born. For nothing can be beheld so imperfect, helpless, naked, shapeless and nasty, as Man is just at his Birth; to whom

whom alone almost Nature has denied a cleanly Passage into the World; but as he smeered with Blood, and daub'd with Filth, more like to one kill'd then new-born, he could never be touch'd, taken in Arms, kiss'd, or hugg'd, but that Nature bears an inbred Affection for him. Therefore other Animals have their Dugs below their Belly, they grow on Woman above her Breast, that she may the more conveniently kiss, embrace and cherish her Infant, because the end of bringing forth and rearing is not Necessity but Love. For let us look back to ancient Times, those who first brought forth, and who first saw a Child born, upon them certainly no Law enjoyn'd any Necessity of Rearing their Off-spring, nor could Expectation of Thanks oblige them to feed their Infants, as if it were for Usury. Nay rather, they were angry with their Children, and long remembred the Injuries they had received from their Young, as Authors of so many Dangers, and of so much Travail and Pain to them.

*As when Big-belly, struck with Dart
Of Child bed Pains, is toucht to th' Heart:
Then Man or Midwife shew your Art!*

These Rhymes, some say, were not written by *Homer*, but by some *Homerefs*, who either had been, or was then in Travail, and felt the very Pangs in her Bowels. Yet Love implanted by Nature, melts and sways the Child bed Woman. While she is all in a Sweat and trembling for Pain, she is not averse to her Infant; but turns it to her, smiles on it, hugs and kisses it: Though she finds no true Sweetness, nor yet Profit, however, she sometimes rocks it in a warm Cradle, sometimes she Dances it in the cool Air, turning one Toil into another, resting neither Night nor Day. He that plants a Vine in the Vernal Æquinox, gathers Grapes upon it in the

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Autumnal. He that sows Wheat at the Setting of the *Pleiades*, reaps it at their Rising. Cows, Mares and Birds bring forth Young ready for use. Man's Education is laborious, his Increase slow, his Vertue lies at a distance; so that most Parents dye before their Children show their Vertue. *Niocles* never saw *Themistocles* his Victory at *Salamis*; nor *Miltiades* the Valour of *Cimon* at *Eurymedon*; *Xanthippus* never heard *Pericles* pleading; nor *Aristo Plato* Philosophizing; nor did the Fathers of *Euripides* and *Sophocles* know the Victories their Sons won: They heard them indeed Stammering and Learning to Talk. It is the Fathers hap to see the Revelling, Drinking and Love Intreagues of their Children: To which purpose that of *Eonius* is memorable.

The Son to's Father always is a Grief.

And yet Men find no end of rearing of Children: they especially who have no need of Children. For it is ridiculous to think, that Rich Men when they have Children born to them, do Sacrifice, to the end they may have some to maintain them, and to bury them. Surely they bring not up Children for want of Heirs, as if, forsooth, Men could not be found to accept of another Man's Estate. Sand, Dust and the Feathers of all the Birds in the World are not so numerous as Heirs are to other Mens Estates. *Danaus* was the Father of fifty Daughters; who, if he had wanted Issue, had had many more Heirs. The Case is far otherwise with Children, they make not Acknowledgments, nor curry Favour, nor pay their Devotions, as expecting the Inheritance of due. But you may hear Strangers talk to them that want Heirs, like the *Comedian*.

Fall too! Feed! You're welcome! [A side] The Fellow's Rich.
And

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And what *Euripides* said,

*By Money 'tis, Men gain Friends,
By Money Mortals gain their Ends.*

Does not universally hold true; but of such only, as have no Children. To such the Rich lend Money, such great Men Honour, and for such only Lawyers plead *Gratis*. *A rich Man, who has no known Heir, can do great Matters.* Many a Man, who has had a great Number of Friends and Followers, as soon as he has had a Child, has been divested of all his Alliances and Power. So that Children do not augment a Man's Power: But Nature's Almighty Power is shown no less in Men than in Beasts. For these and many other things are choaked by Vices, as when a wild Forrest is sown with Garden-Seeds. Can we say, that Man loves not himself, because some hang themselves, others break their own Necks, *Oedipus* put out his own Eyes, and *Hegesias*, by his Disputation, perswaded many of his Auditors to kill themselves.

For fatal things in various Shapes do walk.

But all these things are Disease and Craziness of Mind, degenerating from its own Nature. And in this Men testify against themselves. For if a Sow or a Bitch kill the Young they have brought forth, Men look dejected, are disturbed, sacrifice to the Gods to avert the Mischief, and do account it a Miracle, because Men know that Nature has implanted in all Creatures the Love of their Young, so as they should feed them, and not kill them. For as among Metals, Gold, though mixt with much Rubbage, will appear; so Nature, even in vicious Deeds and

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Affection, declares the Love to Posterity. For poor People do not rear their Children, fearing that if they should not be well Educated, they would prove Slavish, Clownish and Destitute of all things commendable. So they cannot endure to entail Poverty, which they look upon as the worst of all Evils or Diseases upon their Posterity.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals :

Vol. IV.

Concerning the Fortune of the Romans.

Translated from the Greek by Joh. Oswald.

AMong the many warm Disputes which have often hapen'd between *Vertue* and *Fortune*, This concerning the *Roman Empire* is none of the least considerable, Whether of them shall have the Honour of founding that Empire at first, and raising it afterwards to vast Power and Glory. The Victory in this Cause, will be no small Commendation of the Conqueror, and will sufficiently vindicate either of the contending Parties from the Allegations that are usually made against it : For whereas *Vertue* is accus'd as unprofitable, though beautiful, and *Fortune* as unstable, though good; the former as labouring in vain, the latter as deceitful in its Gifts: Who can deny but *Vertue* has been most profitable, if *Rome* does favour her Cause in this Contention, since she procured so much Good to brave and gallant Men? or that *Fortune* is most constant, if she be victorious in this Contest, since she continued her Gifts with the *Romans* for so long a time?

Ion the Poet has written somewhere in Prose, That *Fortune* and *Wisdom*, though they be very much different from one another, are nevertheless the Causes of the very same Effects: Both of them do advance and adorn Men, both do raise them to Glory, Power and Empire. It were needless to multiply Instances by a long Enumeration of Particulars, when even *Nature* it self, which produces all things, is by some reputed *Fortune*, and by others *Wisdom*: And therefore the present Controversie will conciliate great Honour and Veneration to the City of *Rome* since she is thought worthy of the same Enquiry which uses to be made concerning the Earth and ~~Sea~~, the Heavens and the Stars, whether she owes her Being to *Fortune*, or to *Providence*. In which Question, I think it may be truly affirm'd, that notwithstanding the fierce and lasting Wars which have been between *Vertue* and *Fortune*, they did both amicably conspire to rear up the Structure of her vast Empire and Power, and joyn their united Endeavors to finish the most beautiful Work that ever was of Human Production. It was the Opinion of *Plato*, that the whole World was composed of Fire and Earth, as necessary First Principles, which being mixed together, did render it visible and tangible, the Earth contributing weight and firmness, while the Fire gave Colour, Form and Motion to the several Parts of Matter; but for the Tempering and Union of these Extreame, he thought it necessary, that the Water and Air, being of a middle Nature, should mitigate and rebate the contrary Force in Composition. After the same manner did *God* and *Time*, who laid the Foundations of *Rome*, conjoyn and mingle *Fortune* and *Vertue* together, that by the Union of their several Powers, they might compose a *Vesta*, truly sacred and beneficent to all Men, which should be a firm Stay, an eternal Support, and a steddy Anchor (as *Democritus* calls it) amidst the fluctuating and uncertain

tain Affairs of Human Life. For as Naturalists say, That the World was framed as first into that beautiful Order and Structure which we now behold, for want of the Union and Mixture of these several Bodies that compose it; but that all things did fluctuate a long while in Confusion and Noise, whilst the little Bodies being variously moved, avoided all Connexion together, and the greater Bodies already compacted, being of contrary Natures, did frequently jostle and jar one against another; until such times as the *Earth* being fram'd of them both in its due Magnitude, was established in its proper Place, and by its Stability, gave occasion to all the other Bodies of the Universe, either to settle upon it, or round about it; just so it happen'd to the greatest Kingdoms and Empires of Men, which were long toss'd with various Chances, and broken in pieces by mutual Clashings. That for want of one Supreme God over all the Earth was fill'd with unspeakable Calamities, by the continual Broils and Revolutions of every aspiring Pretender, until such time as *Rome* was rais'd to its just Strength and Greatness, which comprehending under her Power many strange Nations, and even Transmarine Dominions, did lay the Foundation of Firmness and Stability to the greatest of Human Affairs; for by this vast Compass of one and the same Empire, Government was secur'd as in an unmoveable Circle; resting upon the Center of Peace. Whosoever therefore contriv'd and compass'd these great Designs, must not only be endow'd with all *Vertues*, but likewise be assisted by *Fortune* in many things, as will plainly appear from the following Discourse.

And now methinks I behold, as from a Turret, *Veritas* and *Fortune* coming to this Conference. As to *Veritas*, her Gate is modest, her Countenance Grave, the blushing Colour of her Face shows her earnest Desire

of obtaining Victory and Honour in this Contest ; *Fortune* in her hasty Pace leaves her far behind, but she is led and accompanied by many brave and gallant Men, who are all over the Body full of Wounds, distilling Blood mingled with Sweat, and they lean upon the bending Spoils of their Enemies. If you inquire who they are, they answer, We are of the *Fabricii*, *Camilli*, and *Lucii*, and *Cincinnati*, and *Maximi Fabii*, and *Claudii Marcelli*, and the *Scipio's*, who have suffered so many Deaths for defending and enlarging the Roman Empire by our Magnanimity and Courage. I perceiv'd also in the Train of *Vertue*. *C. Marius* angry with *Fortune*, and *Mutius Scævola* holding out his burning Hand, and crying with a loud Voice, *Will ye attribute this to Fortune also?* and *M. Horatius Cocles*, who behav'd himself gallantly at the River *Tiber*, when he cut the Bridge and swam over, being loaded with *Tyrrhenian* Darts and drawing his lame Foot out of the deep Water, thus expostulates, *Was I also thus maim'd by meer Chance?* Was there nothing of *Vertue* in this bold Action? Such is the Company of *Vertue*, when she comes to the Dispute, a Company powerful in Arms, terrible to their falling Enemies. But as to *Fortune*, her Gate was hasty, her Looks fierce, her Hope arrogant, and leaving *Vertue* far behind her, she enters the Lists; not as she is described with her light Wings, ballancing her self in the Air, or lightly tripping with her Tiptoes upon the Convexity of the Globe, as if she were presently to vanish away out of sight. No, she does not appear here in any such doubtful and uncertain Posture; But, as the *Spartans* says, that *Venus*, when she passed over *Eurota*, put off her Gew-Gaws and Female Ornaments, and arm'd her self with Spear and Shield for the Love of *Lycurgus*: So *Fortune* having deserted the *Persians* and *Assyrians*, did swiftly fly over *Macedonia*, and quickly threw off her Favorite *Alexander the Great*; and after that

that, having pass'd through the Countries of *Egypt* and *Syria*, and oftentimes by turns supported the *Carthaginians*, she did at last fly over *Tiber* to the *Palatine Mount*, and there she put off her Wings, her *Mercurial Shoes*, and left her slippery and deceitful *Globe*: Thus she entered *Rome*, as one that was to be resident there, and thus she comes to the Bar in this Controversie; she is no more uncertain, as *Pindar* describes her, she does henceforth steer a double Course, but continues constant to the *Romans*, and therefore may be call'd the Sister of *Justice* and *Eloquence*, and the Daughter of *Providence*, as *Alcman* describes her Pedigree. This is certain in the Opinion of all Men, that she holds in her Hand the *Horn of Plenty*, not that which is fill'd with verdent Fruits, but that which pours forth abundance of all things, which the Earth or the Sea, the Rivers or the Metals, or the Harbors afford. Several illustrious and famous Men were seen to accompany her, *Pompilius Numa* from the *Sobines*, and *Priscus* from the *Tarquinians*, whom, being Foreigners and Strangers, *Fortune* transplanted to the Soil of *Romulus*: *Æmilius Paulus* also bringing back his Army from *Perseus* and the *Macedonians*, and triumphing in an unbloody and entire Victory, does greatly magnifie and extol *Fortune*. The same does *Cæcilius Metellus*, that brave old Gentleman, Surnam'd *Macedonicus*, from his many Victories, and Honorable Interment, whose Corps was carried forth to its Funerals by his four Sons, *Q. Balearicus*, *L. Diadematus*, or *Vittatus*, *M. Metellus*, and *C. Caprarius*, and his two Sons in-Law, who were all six his Daughters Sons, of *Consular Dignity*; and also attended by his two Nephews, who were famous for the good Offices they did to the Common-wealth, both abroad, by their Heroical Actions, and at home by the Administration of Justice. *Æmilius Scaurus*, from a mean Estate, and a meaner Family, was raised by *Fortune* to that height of Dignity, that he

was

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was chosen Prince of the Senate. It was *Fortune* that took *Cornelius Sylla* out of the Bosom of *Nicopolis* the Whore, and exalted him above the *Cimbrian* Triumphs of *Marius*, and the Dignity of his Seven Consulships, giving him at once the Powers of a *Monarch* and a *Dictator*; upon which account he adopted himself and all his memorable Actions to *Fortune*, crying out with *OEdipus* in *Sophocles*, *I think my self the Son of Fortune*. In the *Roman* Tongue, he was call'd *Felix*, the Happy, but he writ himself to the *Greeks*, *L. Cornelius Sulla Venustus* i. e. Beloved of *Venus*, which is also the Inscription on all his Trophies, both at *Chelonea* with us, and *Mithidratium*, and that not without reason, since it is not the *Night*, as *Menander* thought, but *Fortune* that enjoys the greatest part of *Venus*.

And thus, having made a seasonable beginning in defence of *Fortune*, we may now call in for Witnesses in this Cause the *Romans* themselves, who attributed more to *Fortune* than to *Vertue*: for the Temple of *Vertue* was but lately built by *Scipio Numantinus*, along time after the building of the City. And after that *Marcellus* dedicated a Temple to *Vertue* and *Honour*, and *Aemilius Scaurus*, who liv'd in the time of the *Cimbrian* War, founded another to *Mens* [the *Mind*] when now by the Subtilties of Sophisters, and Encomiasties of Orators, these things begun to be mightily extoll'd; to this very Day there is no Temple built to *Temperance*, *Patience*, *Magnanimity* and *Continence*. But the Temples dedicated to *Fortune* are splendid and ancient, almost as old as the first Foundations of *Rome* it self. The first that built Her a Temple, was *Ancus Martius*, born of the Sister of *Numa*, being the Fourth King from *Romulus*, & he seems to have made *Fortune* Surname to *Fortitude*, to which she contributes very much for obtaining Victory. The *Romans* built the Temple of *Feminine Fortune*, when by the help of the Woman they turn'd back *Marcus Coriola-*

Coriolanus, leading up the *Volsci* against the City of *Rome*; for the Women being sent Ambassadors to him together with his Mother and Wife, prevail'd with the Man to spare the City at that time, and drew off the Army of the *Barbarians*. It's said, that this Statue of *Fortune*, when it was consecrated, utter'd these Words, *It was piously done, O ye City Matrons, to dedicate me by the Law of your State.* But which is more remarkable, *Furius Camillus* having extinguish'd the Flame that broke out from the *Gauls*, and rescued *Rome* from the Ballance and Scales, in which her Price was weigh'd to them in Gold, did not upon this Occasion found a Temple to *Prudence* and *Fortitude*, but to *Fame* and *Chance*; which he built hard by the *New way*, in that very Place, where it's said, That *M. Cædicius* walking in the Night-time, heard a Prophetical Voice, commandig him shortly to expect a War from the *Gauls*. The Image of *Fortune*, call'd the *Stout* and *Valiant*, having the Power of Conquering all things, which is consecrated near the River *Tiber*, has a stately Temple built to it, in these very Gardens which were left by *Cæsar*, as a Legacy to the People, because they thought that he also was rais'd to the height of Power, by the Favour of *Fortune*. And so he himself testified (otherwise I should be ashamed to say such a thing of so great a Person.) For when he loos'd from *Brundesium*, and embarkt in pursuit of *Pompey*, on the fourth Day of *January*, though it were then the latter end of Winter, he past over the Sea in Safety, by the Good Conduct of *Fortune*, which was stronger then the Rigor of the Season. And when he found *Pompey* powerful by Sea and Land, with all his Forces lying together, and that himself with his small Party was altogether unable to give him Battle, while the Army of *Antonius* and *Sabinus* lagg'd behind, he ventur'd to set forth again in a little Bark, unknown either to the Master of the Vessel or the Pilot, who

who took him for some Servant : But when he saw the Pilot began to change his Purpose of putting out to Sea, because of the Violence of the Waves, which hindered the Sailing out at the Mouth of the River, he presently pluckt off the Disguise from his Head, and shew'd himself, encouraging the Pilot in these Words, *put on, brave Fellow, and fear nothing, but commit the Sails to Fortune, and expose all boldly to the Winds, because thou carriest Cæsar, and Cæsar's Fortune.* So resolute was Cæsar upon this Assurance, That *Fortune* did favour him in his Voyages and Journeys, his Armies and Battels, and that it was her Province to give Calmness to the Sea, and Warmth to a Winter Season ; to give Swift-ness to the Slowest, and Vigor to the most Sluggish Creatures ; and which is more incredible than all this, he believ'd that *Fortune* put *Pompey* to flight, and gave *Ptolemy* the Opportunity of Murdering his Guest, so that *Pompey* should fall, and *Cæsar* be innocent. What shall I say of his Son, the first that had the Honour to be Surnamed *Augustus* ; Did not he pray the Gods for his Nephew, when he sent him forth to Battle, to grant him the Courage of *Scipio*, and the Wisdom of *Pompey*, but his own *Good Fortune*, as counting her the chief Artificer of his Wonderful Self ? It was she that impos'd him upon *Cicero*, *Lepidus*, *Pansa*, *Hortius* and *M. Anthony*, and by their Victories and famous Exploits, by their Navies, Battels and Armies, rais'd him to the greatest height of Power and Honour, degrading them by whose Means he was thus advanc'd : For it was to him that *Cicero* govern'd the State by wise Counsels, *Lepidus* conducted the Armies, and *Pansa* gain'd the Victories. It was to him that *Hortius* fell as a Sacrifice, and for his Benefit *M. Anthony* committed licentious Outrages : Nay, even *Cleopatra* her self is to be reckon'd as part of his *Good Fortune* ; for, by her, as a dangerous Creek, *Anthony* was Shipwreckt, that he alone might wear

wear the Title of *Cæsar*. It is reported of *Anthony*, and *Cæsar* call'd *Augustus*, when they liv'd familiarly together, in daily Conversation, that *Anthony* was always beaten by *Cæsar* at Ball, Dice and Cock fighting, or any other Games and Sports which they used for Recreation; whereupon a certain Friend, who pretended to the Art of Divination, did freely admonish *Anthony*, and say, *What have you to do, my Friend, with this young Man? why don't you avoid his Company? You excel him in Glory and Largeness of Empire, you exceed him in Age and Experience, having signaliz'd your Valour in the Wars. But your Genius is afraid of his, your Fortune, which is great by it self, does fawn upon his, and will undoubtedly pass over to him, unless you remove your self to a great Distance.* By these Testimonies of Men, the Cause of Fortune was supported; after which, I proceed now to other Arguments, taken from the things themselves, beginning from the first Foundations of the City of *Rome*.

And first of all, it cannot be deny'd, That by the Birth and Preservation of *Romulus*, by his Education and Growth, the Foundation of *Vertue* were first laid, but then withal it must be acknowledg'd, that *Fortune* built upon them. As to their Greatness and Birth, who first founded and built the City, it lookt like a wonderful *Good Fortune*, that their Mother should conceive by a God; for as *Hercules* is said to be sown in a long Night, the natural Day being preternaturally prolong'd by the Sun's standing still: So it is reported concerning the Greatness of *Romulus*, that the Sun was eclipsed at the time, being in Conjunction of the Moon, as the Immortal God *Mars* was with the Mortal *Sylvia*. The same is said to have happen'd about the time of his Death: For about the seventh of *July*, call'd *Nonæ Capratinæ*, so call'd, because on that Day, while he was numbring his People by the Lake *Capra*, he suddenly disappear'd (which is a Feast observ'd to this Day with great

great Solemnity) while the Sun was under an Eclipse, he suddenly vanish'd out of the Sight of Men. After their Nativity, when the Tyrant would have murder'd the new-born Babes, *Romulus* and *Remus*, with the Conduct of *Fortune*, concern'd for the Preservation of their Lives, they fell into the Hands of a Servant, no ways Barbarous and Cruel, but Pitiful and Tender-hearted, who laid them on the pleasant green Bank of a River, in a Place shaded with lowly Shrubs, near to that wild Fig-tree, to which the Name of *Ruminalis* was afterwards given. There it was that a She-Wolf, having left her young Whelps, by chance lighted on them, and being burden'd with her swollen Dugs, inflam'd for want of Evacuation, she gladly let down her over-heated Milk as if it had been a second Birth, and suckled the young Children. The *Woodpecker* also, a Bird Sacred to *Mars*, came often unto them, and having gently plac'd her Claws upon their tender Bodies, she did by turns, open both their Mouths with her Bill, and distribute unto each of them convenient Gobbets of her own Food. This Fig-tree was therefore called *Ruminalis*, from *Ruma*, i. e. the Dug, which the Woolf lying down there gave to the Infants. And from a Veneration of this strange Chance of *Romulus*, whenever the like happen'd, the Inhabitants thereabout would not suffer any New Births to lie expos'd to Danger, but carefully took them up and foster'd them. Above all things, the hidden Graft of *Fortune* appear'd in their Education at the City *Gabii*, for there they were secretly nurs'd and brought up, and the People knew nothing of their Pedigree, that they were the Sons of *Sylvia*, and the Grand-children of King *Numitor*; which seems to be so order'd on purpose to prevent that untimely Death which the Knowledge of their Royal Race would occasion, and to give them opportunity of shewing themselves hereafter by their famous Exploits, and discovering
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the Nobility of their Extraction by their Heroical Actions. And this brings to my Mind the Saying of that great and wise Commander *Themistocles*, to some of the *Athenian* Captains, who having follow'd him in the Wars with good Success, were grown ambitious to be preferr'd above him. *There was an eager Contest*, said he, *between the Festival Day and the Day following for Precedency.* Thou, says the *Following Day*, art full of Tumult and Business, but I give Men the peaceful Opportunity of enjoying themselves. Ay, lays the *Festival*, that's true, but then I pray you tell me, If I had not been, where had you been? So says *Themistocles*, If I had not preserv'd my Country in the War with the Medes, what use would there be of you now? And after this manner, Fortune seems to accost the *Virtue* of *Romulus*. It's true, indeed your Actions are great and famous, by which you have clearly shown that you have descended of the Race of the Gods; but see now how far you come behind me; for if I had not reliev'd the Infants in their Distress, by my Bounty and Humanity; if I had deserted and betray'd them when they lay naked and expos'd, how could you have appear'd with such Lustre and Splendor as now you do? If a She-Wolf had not then lighted upon them, inflam'd with the abundance and pressure of her Milk, which wanted one to give Food unto, more than any Food for her self: If some wild Beast had happen'd to come in her stead, hungry and ravaging for Mear, then there had been no such beautiful and stately Palaces, Temples, Theatres, Walks, Courts and Archives, as now you justly glory of; then your Followers had still been Shepherds, and your Buildings Cottages or Stables, and they had still liv'd in subjection to the *Albanian*, *Tyrrhenian* or *Latine* Lords. Certainly the first beginning of all things is of greatest importance, and more especially in building of a City. But it was *Fortune* that first gave a beginning to *Rome*, by
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preserving the Founder of it in so many Dangers to which he was expos'd : For as *Vertue* made *Romulus* great, so *Fortune* preserv'd him till his *Vertue* did appear. It is confest by all, that the Reign of *Numa*, which lasted longest, was conducted by a wonderful *Good Fortune*. For as to the Story of the wise Goddess *Egeria*, one of the *Dryades*, that she being in Love, convers'd familiarly with him, and assisted him in laying the Plat-form and cementing the Frame of the Common-wealth, it appears to be rather fabulous then true, since there were others that had Goddesses for their Wives, and are said to be lov'd by them, such as *Peleus*, *Anchises*, *Orion* and *Emathion*, who, for all that, did not live so pleasantly and free from Trouble. But *Numa* seems to have had *Good Fortune* ; for, his Domestick Companion and Colleague in the Government, which receiving the City of *Rome* into her protection, at such time as she was tost like a troublesome Sea, by the Wars of Neighbouring States, and inflam'd with intestine Feuds, did quickly heal these Breaches, and allay these Storms that threatned her Ruin. And as the Sea is said to receive the *Halcyon-Brood* in a Tempest, which it preserves and nourishes; so the People of *Rome* being lately gather'd together after various Commotions and Tossings, were by *Fortune* deliver'd from all Wars, Diseases, Dangers and Terrors, and settled in such a lasting Peace, that they had time and leasure to take root in their New Soil, and grow up securely into a well compacted City. For as a great Ship or Galley is not made without many Blows and much Force from Hammers, Nails, Wedges, Saws and Axes, and being once built, it must rest for some time upon the Stocks, until the Bands of its Structure grow strong and tenacious, and the Nails be well fasten'd, which hold its Parts together, lest being launch'd while tis loose and unsetled, the Bulk should be shatter'd by the

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Concussion of the Waves, and let in the Water. So the first Artificer of *Rome* having built the City of rustical Men and Shepherds, as its strong Walls and Ramparts, was forc'd to endure hard Labour, and maintain dangerous Wars against those who oppos'd its first Origination and Institution; but after it was once fram'd and compacted by this Force, the second Artificer, by the Benignity of *Fortune*, gave it so long Rest and Peace, till all its Parts were consolidated and settled in a firm and lasting Posture. But if at that time, when the City was newly built, some *Prose*na had advanc'd the *Etruscan* Camp and Army to the Walls, being yet moist and trembling, or some Warlike Revolter of the *Marſian* Grandees, or some envious and contentious *Lucanus*, such as in latter times were *Mulius*, or the bold *Silo*, or the last Plague of *Sylla's* Faction, *Telesinus*, who with one alarm, arm'd all *Italy*; if any of these, I say, had encompass'd the Philosopher *Numa*, with the sound of Trumpets, while he was sacrificing and praying to the Gods, the City being yet unsettled and unfinished, could never have resisted so great a Torrent and Tempest, nor encreas'd unto so great Numbers of stout and vallant Men: That long time of Peace therefore in *Numa's* Reign, did prepare and fortifie the *Romans* against all the Wars which happen'd afterwards, for by its continuance, during the space of forty three Years, the Body of the People was confirm'd in that Athletick Habit, which they acquir'd in the War under *Romulus*, and which generallly prevail'd henceforward against all their Enemies. For in these Years they say *Rome* was not afflicted with Famine or Pestilence, with Barrenness of the Earth, or any notable Calamity by Winter or Summer; all which must be attributed, not to Human Prudence, but to the good Conduct of Divine *Fortune*, governing for that time. Then the double Gate of *Janus* was shut, which they call the Gate of

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War, because it is always open'd in time of War, and shut in time of Peace. After *Numa's* Death, it was open'd again, when the War with the *Albenians* commenc'd, which was follow'd with six hundred other Wars, in a continued series of time; but after four hundred and eighty Years, it was shut again, when Peace was concluded at the end of the first *Punic* War, in the Consulship of *C. Atilius* and *T. Manlius*. The next Year it was open'd again, and the Wars lasted until the Victory which *Augustus* obtain'd at *Actium*; and then the *Roman* Arms rested but a little while, for the Tumults from *Cantabria*, and the Wars with the *Gauls* and *Germans* breaking in upon them, quickly disturbed the Peace. These things I have added to explain this Argument of the Good Fortune of *Numa*; and even those Kings which follow'd him, have admir'd her as the Governess and Nurse of *Rome*, and the City-Supporter, as *Pindar* call's her. For proof of this, we may consider, That the Temple of *Vertue* at *Rome* was but lately built, many years after the Beginning of the City, by that *Marcellus* who took *Syracuse*. There is also a Temple dedicated to *Mens* [the *Mind*] by *Seaurus Æmilius*, who liv'd in the time of the *Cimbrian* War; when the Arts of *Rhetorick*, and the Sophistry of *Logick* had crept into the City, and even to this Day, there are no Temples built to *Wisdom*, *Temperance*, *Patience* and *Magnanimity*. But the Temples of *Fortune* are many, ancient and splendid, adorn'd with all sorts of Honors; and divided amongst the most famous Parts and Places of *Rome*. The Temple of *Masculine Fortune* was built by *Ancus Martius*, the fourth King, which Name was therefore given it, because *Fortune* does contribute very much to Valour, in obtaining Victory. The Temple of *Feminine Fortune* was consecrated by the *Matrons*, when they drove away *Marcus Coriolanus* at the Head of an Army marching against *Rome*, as every Body knows.

knows. Moreover, *Servius Tullius*, who above all the Kings did most enlarge the Power of the People and adorn the Common-wealth, who first gave order to the Taxes of the Militia, who was the first Censor and Overseer of Mens Lives and Sobriety, and is esteem'd a most wise and valiant Man, even he threw himself upon *Fortune* and own'd his Kingdom to be deriv'd from her; so great was her Kindness to him, that she is thought to descend into his House by a Window, and there to converse familiarly with him. Upon which account he built two Temples to *Fortune*, one to that which is call'd *Primigenia* in the Capitol, *i.e.* the first born, as one may expound it; another to that which is call'd *Obsequens*, as being obsequious to his Desires, besides many others. There is also the Temple of *Private Fortune* in the Mount *Palatine*, and that of *Viscous Fortune*, which Name, though it seems ridiculous, does by a Metaphor, explain to us the Nature of *Fortune*; that she attracts things at a distance, and retains them when they are brought to contact. At the Fountain, which is call'd *Mossy*, the Temple of *Virgin Fortune*, is still to be seen in the Field call'd *Abscyma*. There is an Altar also to *Fortune of Good Hope*, in the long narrow Street, without any Passage thorow; and near to the Altar of *Venus Epitalaria*, *i.e.* *Footwing'd Fortune*, there is a Chapple to *Male Fortune*. Infinite are the Honours and Titles of *Fortune* the greater part of which were instituted by *Servius*, knowing that all good success in Human Affairs, does chiefly depend upon her; more especially, he had found by experience, That by her Favour he was preferr'd from a Captive and hostile Nation to be King of the *Romans*. For when *Corniculum* was taken by the *Romans*, the *Virgin Ocrefia* being taken at the same time, she for her illustrious Beauty and Vertue (which the meanness of her *Fortune* could not hide or observe) was presented to *Tanaquil* the Consort of King

244 . *Concerning the Fortune of the Romans.* Vol.IV.
Tarquinius, with whom she liv'd as Maid of Honour,
till she was marry'd to one of her Favorites, and of them
was born *Servius*. Others tell the Story after this man-
ner, That the Virgin *Ocrefia* using often to receive the
First Fruits and Libations from the Royal Table, which
were to be offer'd in Sacrifice, it happen'd on a time,
That when, according to the Custom, she had thrown
them into the Fire, upon the sudden Expiration of
the Flame, there appear'd to come out of it, the
Genital Member of a Man; the Virgin being fright-
ed with so strange a Sight, told the whole Matter to
Queen *Tanaquil*, who being a wise and understanding
Woman, judg'd the Vision to be Divine, and therefore
dress'd up the Virgin in all her Bridal Ornaments and Ar-
tire, and then shut her up in a Room, together with this
Apparition. Some attribute this Amour to *Lar*, the
Houſhold God, and others to *Vulcan*, but whichſoever
it was, *Ocrefia* was with child, and *Servius* being descend-
ed of one of them, gives greater Probability to the
Story of him, That while he was yet an Infant, his
Head was ſeen to ſend forth a wonderful Brightneſs, like
Lightning darted from the Skies. But thoſe about *An-
tium* tell this Story after a different manner, That when
Servius his Wife *Gegania* was dead, he fell into a Sleep
through grief of Mind, in the preſence of his Mother,
and then his Head was ſeen by the Women encompass'd
by Fire, which as it was a certain Token that he was
born of Fire, ſo it was a good Omen of that unexpect-
ed Kingdom which he obtain'd after the Death of *Tar-
quin*, by the means of *Tanaquil*; which is ſo much the
more to be wondred at, becauſe he, of all Kings, was
the moſt unfit by Nature, and averſe by Inclination to
Monarchical Government, ſince he would have re-
ſign'd his Kingdom, and divest'd himſelf of Regal
Authority, if he had not been hindred by the Oath,
which, it appears, he made to *Tanaquil* when ſhe was
dying, that he ſhould continue, during his Life, in
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Kingly Power, and never change that Form of Government which he had receiv'd from his Ancestors. Thus the Reign of *Servius* was wholly owing to *Fortune*, both because he receiv'd it besides his Expectation, and he retain'd it against his Will.

But lest we should seem to shun the Light of bright and evident Arguments, and retreat to ancient Stories as to a Place of Darkness and Obscurity, let us now pass over the time of the Kings, and go on in our Discourse to the most noted Actions, and famous Wars of following Times. And first of all it must be confess'd, That the Boldness and Courage which are necessary for War, do aid and improve Military Vertue, as *Timothy* says, and yet it is manifest to him that will reason aright, that the abundance of Success which advanc'd the *Roman* Empire to such vast Power and Greatness, is not to be attributed to Human Strength and Counsels, but to a certain Divine Impulse, and a full Gale of running *Fortune*, which carried all before it, that hindred the rising Glory of the *Romans*. For now Trophies were erected upon Trophies, and Triumphs hastned to meet one another; before the Blood was cold upon their Arms, it was wash'd off with the fresh Blood of their falling Enemies: Henceforth the Victories were not reckon'd by the Numbers of the Slain, or the Greatness of the Spoils, but the Kingdoms that were taken, by the Nations that were conquer'd, by the Isles and Continents which were added to the Vastness of their Empire. At one Battle, *Philip* was forc'd to quit all *Macedonia*, by one Stroke *Antiochus* was beaten out of *Asia*, by one Victory the *Carthaginians* lost *Libya*; but which is yet more wonderful, *Armenia*, *Pontus*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, the *Albanians*, *Iberians*, *Hyreanians*, with those about *Caucasus*, were by one Man, and the Success of one Expedition, reduc'd under the Power of the *Roman* Empire. The Ocean which is diffus'd over the Face of all the Earth, beheld him thrice Victorious, for

subdued the *Numidians* in *Africa*, as far as the *Southern Shores*; he conquer'd *Spain*, which joyn'd with *Sertorius* as far as the *Atlantic Ocean*, and he pursu'd the *Albanian Kings* as far as the *Caspian Sea*. *Pompeius Magnus*, one and the same Man, atcheiv'd all those great and stupendous things, by the assistance of that *Publick Fortune* which waited upon the *Roman Arms* with Success, and after all this, he sunk under the Weight of his own fatal Greatness. The great *Genius* of the *Romans* was not propitious for a Day only, or for a little time, like that of the *Macedonians*: It was not powerful by Land only, like that of the *Lyconians*, or by Sea only, like that of the *Athenians*. It was not too slowly sensible of Injuries, as that of the *Persians*, nor too easily pacify'd like that of the *Cholophonians*; but from the beginning, growing up with the City, the more it increas'd, the more it enlarg'd the Empire, and constantly aided the *Romans* with its auspicious Influence by Sea and Land, in Peace and War, against all their Enemies, whether *Greeks* or *Barbarians*. It was this *Genius* which dissipated *Annibal* the *Carthaginian*, when he broke in upon *Italy* like a Torrent, and the People could give no assistance, being torn in pieces by Intestine Jars. It was this *Genius* that separated the two Armies of the *Cimbrians* and *Teutonicks*, that they should not meet at the same Time and Place; by which means, *Marius* the *Roman* General encounter'd each Army by it self, and overcame them, which if they had been joyn'd together, would have overflow'd all *Italy* like a Deluge, with three hundred thousand valiant Men, invincible in Arms: It was the same *Genius* that hindred *Antiochus*, by other Occasions, from assisting *Philip*, while he was engag'd in War with the *Romans*, so that *Philip* was first vanquish'd before *Antiochus* encounter'd the Danger of helping him. It was by the Conduct of the same *Genius*, That *Mithridates* was taken up with the

the Sarmatick and Bastarnick Wars, while the *Marsians* attack'd *Rome*: That Jealousie and Envy divided *Tigranus* from *Mithridates*, while the latter was flusht with Success; but both of them were joynd together in the Defeat, that they might perish in the same common Ruin. What shall I say more? Has not *Fortune* reliev'd the City when it was reduc'd to the greatest Extremity of Danger? When the *Gauls* encamp'd about the *Capitol*, and besieg'd the Castle, pouring in Death and Wounds upon the *Romans*? Did not *Fortune* and *Chance* discover their secret Attack in the Night-time, which otherwise had surpris'd all Men? Of which wonderful Accident, it will not be unseasonable to discourse here a little more largely.

After the great Overthrow and Slaughter of the *Romans* at the River *Alia*, some of those that remain'd fled hastily to *Rome*, and communicated their Terror and Consternation to the People there; of whom a few having trussed up their Bag and Baggage, convey'd themselves into the *Capitol*, resolving there to wait the Event of so dismal a Calamity; others flockt in great Multitudes to the *Vientus*, and there proclaimed *Furius Camillus* Dictator, giving him now in their Distress, an absolute and unaccountable Power, whom before, in their Pride and Prosperity, they had condemn'd and banisht, as guilty of robbing the publick Treasure. But *Camillus*, to strengthen his Title to this Authority, which might seem to be given him only for the present Necessity, contrary to the Law of the State, touching the Election of such a Magistrate, scorn'd to call a Senate of arm'd Souldiers, so lately shatter'd and beaten, as if the Government of the City were dissolv'd; but sent to acquaint the Senators that were in the *Capitol*, and know, if they would approve the Election of the Souldiers. To accomplish this, there was one *C. Pontius* who

undertook to carry the News of this decree to those in the *Capitol*, though it were with great Danger of his Life; for he was to go through the midst of the Enemies, who were entrench'd and kept Watch about the Castle. He came therefore in the Night-time to the River *Tyber*, and by the help of broad Corks, supporting the Weight of his Body, he was carry'd down the Stream in a smooth, calm Water, and safely landed on the other side; from thence he pass'd through Places uninhabited, being Conducted by Darknels and Silence, to the Rock on which the *Capitol* was built, and climbing up through its winding and rough Passages, with much Labour and Difficulty, at last he arriv'd at the *Capitol* it self; where, being receiv'd by the Watch, he acquainted the Senators with what was done by the Souldiers, and having receiv'd their Approbation of the Decree of Election, he return'd again to *Camillus*. The next Day after one of the *Barbarians* by chance walking about this Rock, seeing in one Place the Prints of his Feet, and his Falls, in another Place the Herbs trodden down which grew upon the interspersed Earth, and the plain Marks of his Body in its winding Ascent through the craggy Precipice, went presently and inform'd the rest of the *Gauls* of the whole Matter. And they finding that a Way was shewn them by the Enemy, resolv'd to follow his Foot-steps, and taking the Advantage of the dead Time of the Night, when all were fast asleep, not so much as a Watch stirring, or a Dog barking, they climb'd up secretly to the Castle. But *Fortune* in this case was wonderfully propitious to the *Romans*, in discovering and preventing such an imminent Danger, by the Voice of the *Sacred Geese* which were maintain'd about the Temple of *Juno*, for the Worship of that Goddess; for that Animal being wakeful by Nature, and easily

easily frighted with the least Noise, these *Sacred Geese* had been so much neglected by reason of the Scarcity of Provisions which was in the Castle, that they were more easily waken'd by the approach of the Enemy, out of their light and hungry Sleep, and therefore they presently perceiv'd the *Gauls* appearing upon the Walls, and with a loud Voice flew proudly towards them; but being yet more frightned with the Sight of their shining Armor, they rais'd a louder gaggl'g Noise, which waken'd the *Romans*, who understanding the Design, presently beat back the Enemies, and threw them down over the Precipices of the Rock; and therefore in remembrance of this wonderful Accident, a *Dog fasten'd to a Cross*, and a *Goose lying in a Bed of State*, upon a Rich Cushion, is carried about, even to this Day, in pompous Solemnity. And now who is not astonish'd, that considers how great was the Misery of the City at that time, and how great its Happiness is now at this Day, when he beholds the Splendor and Riches of its Donatives, the Emulation of Liberal Arts that flourish in it, the Accession of Noble Cities and Royal Crowns to its Empire, and the cheif Products of Sea and Land, of Isles and Continents, of Rivers and Trees, of Animals and Feilds, of Mountains and Metallick Mines, crowding to adorn and beautifie this Place? Who is not stunn'd with Admiration, at the imminent Danger which then was, whether ever those things should be or no; and at those poor timorous Birds, which first began the Deliverance of the City, when all Places were fill'd with Fire, Darkness and Smoak, with the Swords of *Barbarians* and Bloody-minded Men? What a Prodigy of *Fortune* was it, that those great Commanders, the *Manlii*, the *Servii*, *Posthumii* and *Papyii*, so famous for their Warlike Exploits, and for the illustrious Families that have descended from them, should be alarm'd

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larm'd, in this Extremity of Danger, by the silly
Geese, to fight for their Country: Gods and their
Country. And, if it be true, which *Polybius* writes in
his Second Book of those *Gauls*, which then possess'd
Rome, That they made a Peace with *Camillus* and de-
parted, as soon as they heard the News of the In-
vasion that was made upon their Territories by the
Neighbouring *Barbarians*; then it is past all Contro-
versie, that *Fortune* was the Cause of *Rome's* Preservati-
on, by drawing off the Enemies to another Place, or
rather forcing them from *Rome* beyond all Mens Ex-
pectation.

But why do I dwell upon those things, which have
nothing of certain or evident Truth, since the Me-
mories of those Times have perisht, and the History of
them is confus'd, as *Livy* tells us: For those things
which happen'd in following Ages, being plain and
manifest to all, do sufficiently demonstrate the benigni-
ty of *Fortune* to *Rome*; among which, I reckon the
Death of *Alexander* to be no small Cause of the *Romans*
Happiness and Security; for he being a Man of won-
derful Success, and most famous Exploits, of invincible
Confidence and Pride, who shot like a Star with incre-
dible swiftness, from the rising to the setting Sun, was
meditating to bring the Lustre of his Arms into *Italy*.
The Pretence of this intended Expedition, was the
Death of *Alexander Molossus*, who was kill'd at *Pandofia*
by the *Brutii* and *Lucani*; but the true Cause was the
Desire of Glory and the Emulation of Empire, which
instigated him to war against all Mankind, that he
might extend his Dominion beyond the Bounds of *Bac-
chus* and *Hercules*. He had heard of the *Roman* Power
in *Italy*, terrible as an Army in Battle Array, of the Il-
lustrious Name and Glory which they had acquir'd by
innumerable Battles, in which they were flusht with
Victory; and this was a sufficient Provocation to his
Ambi-

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Ambitious Spirit, to commence a War against them, which could not have been decided without an Ocean of Blood; for both Armies appear'd invincible, both of fearless and undaunted Minds, and the *Romans* then had no fewer then one hundred and thirty thousand stout and valiant Men, skilful in fighting, both on Horseback, and on Foot.

The rest of this Discourse appears to be lost, wherein we miss the Arguments which *Vertue* alledged for her self in this Contest.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals :

Vol. IV.

Of Garrulity or Talkativeness.

Translated from the Greek by J. Phillips, Gent.

IT is a troublesome and difficult Task that Philosophy undertakes in going about to cure the Disease, or rather Itch of Intemperate Prating. For that Words, which are the sole Remedy against it, require Attention. But they who are given to Prate will hear no Body, as being a sort of People that love to be always talking themselves. So that the principal Vice of Loquacious Persons, is this, that their Ears are stop't to every thing else but their own Impertinencies. Which I take to be a wilful Deafness in Men, controuling and contradicting Nature, that has given us two Ears, though but one Tongue. Therefore it was that *Euripides* spoke very right to a certain stupid Hearer of his.

*Impossible it is for me to fill that Brain,
That in a moment lets out all again ;
'Tis but the Words of Wisdom to unfold
Unto a Fool whose Skull will nothing hold.*

More

More justly and truly might I say to an idle *Prate-
toast*, or rather concerning such a Fellow.

*In vain I seek to fill thy Sieve-like Brain,
That in a moment lets out all again;
Infusing Wisdom into such a Skull
As leaks so fast, it never will be full.*

Much more may he be said to spill his Instructions besides the Vessel, who speaks to those that will not hear him speak, then he that speaks to one that cannot hear at all. For so soon as a wise Man has utte'd any thing, be it never so short, *Garrulity* swallows it forthwith, like the Sea, and throws it up again threefold, with the Violence of a swelling Tyde. Such was the *Portico* within the City of *Olympia*, call'd *Heptaphonos*, by the Reverberation of one single Voice, causing no less then seven distinct *Eccho's*, and in like manner, if the least Word light into the Ears of an impertinent Babler, presently all the Room rings with it, and he makes such a Dinn,

*That soon the jangling Noise untunes the Strings
Of Minas sedately fix'd on better Things.*

Inasmuch that we may say, that the Conduits and Conveyances of their Hearing reach not to the Souls, but only to their Ears. Therefore it is that other People retain what is spoken to them; whereas, whatever is said to talkative people, runs through them as through a Cullender, and then they run about from Place to Place, like empty Vessels void of Sence or Wit, but making a hideous Noise. However, in hopes that there is yet some room left to try an Experiment for the Cure of this Distemper, let us begin with this golden Sentence. to the impertinent Prater.

Be

*Be silent, Boy, and thou wilt find i th' end,
What Benefits on silent Lips attend.*

Among which two of the first, and chiefest, are, as well to hear, as to be heard. To either of which, these Talkative Companions can never attain; so unhappy they are still to meet with Disappointments, though they desire it never so much. For as for those other Distempers of the Soul, such as Avarice, Ambition, and exorbitant Love of Pleasure, they have this Happiness, to enjoy what they so eagerly cover. But this is that which most afflicts these idle Praters, that being desirous of nothing more then of Company that will here'em prate, they can never meet with it, in regard that all Men avoid their Society; and whether sitting in a Knot together, or walking, so soon as they behold a Prater advancing towards them, they presently give warning to each other, and adjourn to another Place. And as when there happens a deep Silence in any Assembly, so that all the Company seems to be mute, we say that *Mercury* is got among them; so when a Fool, full of Noise and Talk, enters into any Room where Friends and Acquaintance are met to Discourse, or else to Feast and be Merry, all People are hush'd of a sudden, afraid of giving him any Occasion to set his Tongue upon the Career: But if he once begin to open his Mouth, up they rise, and away they trip; like Sea-men foreseeing a sudden Storm, and rowling of the Waves, when they hear the North-wind begin to whistle from some adjoining Promontory, and hastning into Harbour. Whence it comes to pass, that they never can meet with any that are willing, either to Eat, or Drink, or Lodge with them in the same Room, either upon the Road or upon a Voyage, unless constrain'd thereto by Necessity. For so importunate he

is, and in all Places, that sometimes he will pull ye by the Coat, sometimes by the Beard, and sometimes be hunching your Sides to make you speak. How highly then are to be priz'd a swift pair of Legs, according to the Saying of *Archilochus*? Nay, by *Jove*, it was the Opinion of wise *Aristotle* himself: For he being perplext with an Egregious Prater, and tir'd out with his Absurd Stories, and idle Repetitions of, *And is not this a wonderful thing*, *Aristotle*? No wonder at all, said he, this; but if a Man should stand still to hear you prate thus, who had Legs to run away, that were a wonder indeed. To another of the same Stamp, that after a long Tale of a Roasted Horse, excus'd himself by saying, *That he was afraid he had tir'd him with his Prolixity*. No, upon my Word, quoth the Philosopher, for I never minded what you said. On the other side, should it so fall out, that there was no avoiding the Vexation of one of these chattering Fops, Nature has afforded us this Happiness, that it is in the Power of the Soul to lend the outward Ears of the Body; to endure the Brunt of the Noise, while she retires to the remoter Apartments of the mind, and there employs her self in better, and more useful Thoughts. By which means, those Sonorous Bblers are at the same time disappointed, as well of Auditors, as of People that believe what they say. All Men look upon their vain Babbling with the same Opinion that they have of the Seed of People insatiably addicted to the Use of Women; for as the one is barren and useless for Generation, so is the other void of the end of Discourse, altogether frivolous and impertinent. And yet there is no Member of Human Bodies that Nature has so strongly enclosed within a double Fortification, as the Tongue, entrench'd within with a Barricado of sharp Teeth, to the end, that when it refuses to be rul'd by Reason, that holds the Reins of Silence within, we should fix our Teeth in

in it till the Blood comes, rather then suffer the inordinate and unseasonable Dinn. For according to the Saying of *Euripides*,

*Our Miseries do not spring
From Houses wanting Locks or Bolts ;
But from unbridl'd Tongues,
Ill us'd by Prating Fools and Dolts.*

And truly, I must tell ye, that they who think that Houses with Bolts and Bars, and Purles without Strings, are of no use to their Masters, yet at the same time set neither Fence nor Door before their Lips ; but suffer a continual Torrent of vain and idle Discourse to flow through them, like the perpetual Flux of Water through the Mouth of the *Pontic Sea*, seem to me to have the least Esteem for Human Speech of all Men in the World. Whence it comes to pass, that they never gain belief, which is the end of all Discourse. For the main Scope and Intention of all Men that speak, is to gain a Belief of what they utter, with those that hear them : Whereas Talkative Noise-makers are never believ'd, let them speak never so much Truth. For as Wheat, when crouded into a Musty Vessel, is found to exceed in Measure, but unwholsom for Use, so the Discourse of a Loquacious Person swells and enlarges it self with Lyes and Falshood ; but in the meantime it loses all force of Perswasion. Then again, there is no Man of Modesty and Civility, but would be careful of preserving himself from Drunkenness. For Anger, as some are of Opinion, is to be rang'd with Madness, and cohabits with those that are given to Drink ; or rather is a kind of Phrensie it self ; though inferiour to it in Continuance of time ; but as it is voluntary, far exceeding it, since it is a Madness of our own Choice. Now there is nothing, for which Drunkenness

kennels is so much abominated and decry'd, as for that it is the Cause of inordinate and unlimited Babbling and Prating.

*Heated with Wine, the Man at other times,
Both Wise and Grave, sings loose and wanton Rhimes;
He minds not loud undecent Laughter then,
Nor Minio Dancing, scorn'd by sober Men.*

And yet both Singing, Laughing and Dancing, are all but Trifles to that which follows, the Consequences of which are oft times fatal.

*He blurts those Secrets forth, which once reveal'd,
Too late he wishes they had been conceal'd.*

This is that which oftentimes proves dangerous, if not terrible to the Discoverer; and who knows but that the Poet might here design to resolve a Question much disputed among Philosophers? that is to say, what the difference is between being Tipsie and stark Drunk? by attributing to the former, only Mirth and Jollity of Humour; but branding the latter with the foul Reproach of noxious Babbling, and Babbling of Secrets. For according to the Proverb,

*What the sober heart conceals,
That the drunken Tongue reveals.*

Wherefore it is reported of *Riaz*, that sitting very silent at a Computation, drinking only when it came to his Turn, and being laugh'd at by one whose Tongue run at random, who for his Silence call'd him *Mope* and *Fool*, he made this Reply, *Find me out that Fool*, said he, *that e're could hold his Tongue in his Cups;*

A Noble man of *Athens*, having invited the King of *Persia's* Embassadors to a magnificent Feast, at their Request, gave the same Invitation to the most eminent Philosophers in the City to bear them Company. Now when all the rest were propounding of Theams, and raising Arguments *Pro* and *Con*, and others were maintaining of Paradoxes, to shew their Wit and Learning; only *Zeno* sat still, so reserv'd and mute, that the Embassadors took notice of it; and thereupon, after they thought they had open'd his Heart with two or three lusty Brimmers, *Pray tell us, Zeno*, said they, *what Report we shall make concerning thee to our Master?* To whom *Zeno*, *Nothing more* said he, *but that there was an old Man at Athens, that could hold his Tongue in the midst of his Cups.* Such profound and Divine mysterious Vertues are Silence and Sobriety: whereas Drunkenness is Loquacious, void of Reason and Understanding, and therefore full of jangling, and impertinent Tautologies. Wherefore the Philosophers, when they come to define Drunkenness, call it a *Delirium*, or Madness through immoderate Drinking of Wine. So that Drinking is not condemn'd, provided a Man keep himself within the Bounds of Silence and Moderation; only vain and silly Discourse makes Drinking of Wine to be Drunkenness. He then that is Drunk, is Mad with Wine: But the Tautologizing Babler is every where Drunk; in the Market Place, at the Theatre, in the publick Portico's or Deambulatories, as well by Night as by Day. If he be a Physitian, certainly he is more troublesome then the Disease; if your Companion in a Voyage, more insupportable then the Qualms occasion'd by the Tumbling of the Sea. If he praise thee, his Panegyrick's more offensive then the Reproaches of another. It is a greater Pleasure to converse with vicious Men, so they be discreet in their Language, then with Twatlers, though never so honest. Therefore *Nestor*
in

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in *Sophocles*, desirous to appease exasperated *Ajax*, mildly thus rebuk'd him :

*I blame thee not, for though thy Words are ill,
Thy Deeds bespeak thee Brave and Valiant still.*

But there is not the same Excuse to be made for a vain babbling Fellow; for the ill Government of his Tongue corrupts and vitiates all the Merits of his Actions. *Lysias* had giv'n to a certain accus'd Criminal, an Oration of his own Writing. He having read it several times over, came to *Lysias*, very much dejected, and told him, that upon his first perusal of it, it seem'd to him, to be a most admirable Piece; but after he had read it three or four times over, he could see nothing in it, but what was very dull and insipid. To whom *Lysias*, smiling, *What*, said he, *is not once enough to speak it before the Judges?* And yet do but consider the Persuasive Eloquence and Grace that is in *Lysias's* Writing, and then I may be bold to affirm,

*That no Man living e'er was favour'd more,
By sacred Muse, than Violet Garlands more.*

Certain it is, that of all the Commendations that were ever given to a Poet, this is the truest, that only *Homer* avoided being irksome to his Readers, as one that was always new, and still flourishing, as it were in the Prime of Poetic Beauty. And yet in speaking thus of himself,

*I hate vain Repetitions, fondly made
Of what has been already greatly said.*

He shews how careful he is to shun that Satiety, which; as it were, way-lays all Tedioufness of Speech, alluring
S 2 the

the Ear from one Relation into another, and still recreating the Reader with fresh Variety, in such a manner, that he never thinks himself satisfy'd. Whereas Men that let their Tongues run at random, rend and tear the Ears with their Tautologies, like those that after Table-books have been newly cleans'd and whip'd, deface them again with their impertinent Scrawls and Scratches. And therefore we would have them to remember this in the first place, that as they who constrain Men to guzzle down Wine unmix'd with Water, and to excess, are the occasion, that what was bestow'd at first on Men as a Blessing, to excite Mirth, and rejoyce the Heart, becomes a Mischief creating Sadness, and causing Drunkenness; so they that make an ill and inconsiderate use of Speech, which is the most delightful means of Human Converse, render it both troublesom and unsociable, molesting those whom they think to gratifie, derided by those whose Esteem and Admiration they covet, and offensive to such whose Love and Friendship they seek. And therefore, as he may truly be said to be void of all Civility, who with the Girdle of *Venus*, wherein all manner of Allurements, drives and chases away his familiar Acquaintance from his Society, so he that vexes others with his loose and extravagant Talk, may be as truly said to be a Rustick, wanting altogether Education and Breeding.

Now then among all other Passions and Maladies, some are dangerous, others hateful, and others ridiculous; but in foolish Prating, all these Inconveniencies concur. They are derided when they make Relations of common Matters; they are hated for bringing unwelcome Tidings; they are in danger, for divulging of Secrets. Whereas *Anacharsis* being feasted by *Solon*, was esteem'd a wise Man, for that as he lay asleep after the Banquet was over, he was seen with his Left-hand upon his Privy Parts, and his Right-hand laid upon his Mouth,

Mouth. Deeming, as indeed he rightly believ'd, that his Tongue requir'd the stronger Curb. For though it would be a hard Task to reckon up how many Men have perish'd through the Venereal Intemperance; yet I dare say it would be almost as difficult to tell how many Cities and States have been demolish'd and totally subverted by the inconsiderate Blurting out of a Secret.

Sylla besieg'd *Athens* at a time when it was certain that he could not lye long before the City, by reason that other Affairs and Troubles call'd him another way. For on the one side *Mithridates* ravag'd *Asia*, on the other, *Marius's* Party had made themselves Masters of *Rome*. But it happen'd that certain old Fellows being met together in a Barbers Shop, among other Discourse, blabb'd it out, that the *Heptachalcos* was ill guarded, and that the City was in great danger of a Surprize in that part. Which being overheard, and reported to *Sylla* by certain of his Spies, he presently brought all his Forces on that side, and about Midnight, after a sharp Assault, entred the City with his whole Army, and it was a thousand to one, but that he had laid it in Ashes: However he fill'd the *Ceramicum* with the Carcasses of the Slain, and made the Channels run with Blood, being highly incens'd against the *Athenians* more for their reproachful Language than their Military Opposition. For they had abus'd both him and his Wife *Metella*, getting up upon the Walls, and calling him *Mulberry* strew'd with Dust Meal, with many other provoking Scoffs of the same Nature; and for a few Jibes and Taunts, which as *Plato* observes, are the slightest things in the World, they drew upon their Heads the severe Punishment of a most dreadful and general Calamity.

The Tongue of one Man prevented *Rome* from recovering her Freedom by the Destruction of *Nero*. For

there was but one Night to pass before *Nero* was to be murder'd on the Morrow, all things being ready prepar'd and agreed on for that purpose. But in the mean time it happen'd that he who had undertaken to execute the Fact, as he was going to the Theatre, seeing one of those poor Creatures that were bound and pinion'd, just ready to be led before *Nero*, and hearing the Fellow bewail his hard Fortune, gather'd up close to him, and whispering the poor Fellow in the Ear, *Pray only, honest Friend*, said he, *that thou mayst but escape this Day, to morrow thou shalt give me thanks*. Presently the Fellow taking hold of this *Enigmatical* Speech, and calling to mind the vulgar Saying,

*Where Opportunity presents the Choice,
Fools they that wave the most secure Advice.*

Preferr'd the more probable to be the juster way of saving himself, and presently declar'd to *Nero* what that Man had whisper'd in his Ear. Immediately the *Whisperer* was laid hold of, and hurried away to the Place of Torture, where by Racking, Searing and Scourging, he was constrain'd, poor miserable Creature, to confess that by Force, which before he had discover'd without any Compulsion at all. And therefore *Zeno*, that he might not be compell'd by the Tortures of his Body, to betray, against his Will, the Secrets entrusted in his Breast, bit off his Tongue and spit it in the Tyrants Face.

Notorious also was the Example of *Leena*, and signal the Reward which she had, for being true to her Trust, and constant in her Taciturnity, she was a *Curtisan*, with whom *Harmodius* and *Aristogion* were very familiar, and for that reason they had imparted to her the great Hopes which they had upon the Success of the Conspiracy against the thirty Tyrants, wherein they

they were so deeply engag'd, while she on the other side having drank freely of the Noble Cup of Love, vow'd never to reveal the Secrets which they had made her privy to, for the Sake of that Deity; wherein she fail'd not of her Vow.

For the two Paramours being taken and put to Death, after they had fail'd in their Enterprize, she was also apprehended and put to the Torture, to force out of her a Discovery of the rest of the Accomplices; but all the Torments and Extremities they could exercise upon her Body, could not prevail to make her discover so much as one Person; thereby manifesting to the World, that the two Gentlemen, her Friends, had done nothing misbecoming the Nobility of their Descent, in having bestow'd their Affections upon such a Woman. For this reason, the *Athenians*, as a Monument of her Vertue, set up a *Leena*, or *Lioness* in Brass, without a Tongue, just at the Entrance into the *Acropolis* or Cittadle; signifying to Posterity, by the stomachful Courage of that Beast, the invincible Resolution of the Woman; and by making it without a Tongue, denoting her Constancy, in keeping the Secret, with which she was entrusted. For never any Word spoken did so much good, as many lockt up in Silence. Thus at one time or other a Man may blab forth a Secret, but when it is once blurted forth, it can never be recall'd. For it flies abroad, and spreads in a moment far and near. And hence it is that we have Men to teach us to speak; but the Gods are they that teach us Silence; Silence being the first thing commanded upon our first Initiation into their Divine Ceremonies and Sacred Mysteries. And therefore it is that *Homæ* makes *Ulysses*, whose Eloquence was so charming, to be the most silent of Men; and the same Vertue also he attributes to his Son, his Wife, and his Nurse. For thus you hear he speaking,

*Safe as in harden'd Steel, or sturdy Oak,
Within my Breast these Secrets will I lock.*

And Ulysses himself, sitting by Penelope, before he discover'd himself, is thus brought in,

*His weeping Wife with Pity he beheld,
Although not willing yet to be reveal'd;
He would not move his Eyes, but kept them fast,
Like Horn or Steel within his Eye-brows plac'd.*

So powerfully possess'd with Continencc were both his Tongue and Lips, and having all the rest of his Members so obedient and subject to his Reason, he commanded his Eyes not to weep, his Tongue not to speak a Word, and his Heart neither to pant or tremble,

*So was his suffering Heart confin'd
To give Obedience to his Mind.*

His Reason penetrating even to those inward Motions, and subduing to its self the Blood and vital Spirits. Such were many of the rest of his Followers. For though they were dragg'd and hal'd by *Polypheme*, and had their Heads dash'd against the Ground, they would not confess a Word concerning their Lord and Master *Ulysses*, nor discover the long piece of Wood that was put in the Fire, and prepar'd to put out his Eye; but rather suffer'd themselves to be devour'd raw, then to disclose any one of their Masters Secrets, which was an Example of Fidelity and Reservedness not to be parallel'd. *Pitacus* therefore did very well, who when the King of *Egypt* sent him an Oblation-beast, and order'd him to take out and set apart the best and worst Piece of it, pull'd out the Tongue and sent to him, as being the Instru-

Instrument of many good things, and as well the Instrument of the greatest Evils in the World. *Ino* therefore in *Euripides*, frankly extolling her self, says she,

*I know both when and where my Tongue to hold,
And when with safety to be freely bold.*

For they that are brought up under a truly generous and Royal Education, learn first to be silent, and then to talk. And therefore King *Antigonus*, when his Son ask'd him, when they should discamp? *what!* said he, *art thou afraid of being the only Man that shall not hear the Trumpet?* So loath was he to trust him with a Secret, to whom he was to leave his Kingdom. Teaching him thereby, when he came to command another Day, to be no less wary and sparing of his Speech. *Metellus* also, that old Souldier, being ask'd some such Question about the intended March of his Army, *If I thought*, said he, *that my Shirt were Privy to this Secret, I would pull it off and throw it into the Fire.* *Eumenes* also, when he heard that *Craterus* was marching with his Forces against him, said not a Word of it to his best Friend, but gave it out all a'long, that it was *Neoptolemus*, for him his Souldiers contemn'd, but they admir'd *Craterus's* Fame and Vertue; but no body knew the Truth but *Eumenes* himself. Thereupon joyning Battle, the Victory fell to their Side, and they slew *Craterus*, not knowing whom he was till they found him among the Slain. So cunningly did Taciturnity manage this Combat, and conceal so great an Adversary. So that the Friends of *Eumenes* admir'd rather then reprov'd him, for not telling them before hand. For indeed, should a man be blam'd in such a Case, it is better for him to be accus'd after Victory obtain'd by his Distrust; then to be justly reproach'd for being open and easie to im-
part

part his Secrets, after an Overthrow. Nay, What Man is he that dares take upon him the Freedom to blame another for not keeping that secret which he himself has reveal'd to him? For if the Secret ought not to have been divulg'd, 'twas ill done to break it to another; but if after thou hast let it go from thy self, and would'st have another to keep it in; surely it is a great Argument that thou hast more Confidence in another than in thy self; who if he be like thy self, thou art deservedly lost; if better, then thou art miraculously sav'd, as having met with a Person more faithful to thee, then thou art to thy own Interest. But thou wilt say, he is my Friend: Very good——Yet this Friend of mine had another, in whom he might confide as much as I did in him; and in like manner his Friend another, to the end of the Chapter. And thus the Secret gains Ground and spreads it self by Multiplication of Babling. For as an *Unite* never exceeds its Bounds, but always remains One, and is therefore call'd an *Unite*; but then the next is *Two*, the first indefinite Beginning of the Difference, which afterwards by doubling, multiplies to infinite; so Speech abiding in the first Thoughts, may truly be call'd a Secret; but being communicated to another, it presently changes its Name into common Rumor. Which is the reason that *Homer* gives to *Words* the Epithite of *Winged*. For he that lets go a Bird out of his Hand, does not easily catch her again: Neither is it possible for a Man to re-call and cage again in his Breast, a Word let slip from his Mouth. For with light Wings it fetches many a Compass, and flutters about from one Quarter to another in a Moment. The Course of a Ship may well be stay'd by Cables and Anchors, which else would spoom away before a fresh Gale of Wind; but there is no fast Riding or Anchor-hold for Speech, when once let loose, as from a Harbour; but being whirl'd

whirl'd away with a sonorous Noise and loud Eccho, it carries off and plunges the unwary Babler into some fatal Danger.

*For soon a little Spark of Fire let fly,
May kindle Ida's Wood, so thick and high;
What one Man to his seeming Friend let's go,
Whole Cities may with ease enquire and know.*

The Senate of Rome had been debating among themselves a certain Piece of Secresie for several Days; which caused the matter to be so much the more suspected and listned after. Whereupon a certain Roman Lady, discreet enough in other things, but yet a Woman, laid at her Husband Day and Night, and mournfully importun'd him what the Secret might be. Oaths you may be sure she was ready to make, and curse her self if ever she reveal'd whatever he should tell; nor was she wanting in Tears, and many moist Complaints of her being a Woman so little to be trusted by a Husband. The Roman thus beset, yet willing in some measure, to make tryal of her Fidelity, and convince her of her Folly, *Thou hast overcome me, Wife,* said he, *and now I'll tell thee a most dreadful and prodigious thing. We were advertis'd by the Priests, that a Lark was seen flying in the Air with a golden Helmet upon her Head, and a Spear in one of her Claws; now we are consulting with the Augures and South-sayers about this Portent, whether it be good or bad. But keep it to thy self, for it may be of great Concernment to the Common-wealth.* Having so said, he walk'd forth toward the Market-place.

No sooner was he gone, but his Wife catching hold of the first of her Maids that enter'd the Room, and then striking her Breast, and tearing her Hair, *Wo is me,* said she, *for my poor Husband and dearest Country! What will become of us?* prompting the Maid, as if she were

were desirous that she should say to her again, *Why? What is the matter Mistress?* upon which she presently unfolded all that her Husband had told her; nay, she forgot not the common Burden with which all Twattle-Baskets conclude their Stories. *But Huffle,* said she, *for your Life, be sure you say not a Word of this to any Soul living.* The Wench was no sooner got out of her Mistress's Sight, but meeting with one of her Fellow Servants that had little to do, to her she unbosoms her self; she, big with the News, with no less speed runs away to her Sweet-heart, who she heard was come to give her a Visit, and without any more to do tells him all. By this means the Story flew about the Market-place, before the first Diviser of it could get thither. Presently one of his Acquaintance meeting him, *Did ye come streight from your House?* said he, *Without stop or stay* reply'd the other. *And did ye hear nothing?* says his Friend. *Why?* quoth the t'other, *Is there any News?* Oh! quoth his Friend, *a Lark has been seen flying i' the Air, with a golden Helmet upon her Head, and Spear in her Claw, and the Senate is summon'd to consult about it.* Upon which the Gentleman, smiling, *God a mercy Wife,* quoth he, *for being so nimble—one would have thought I might have got into the Market-place before a Story so lately told thee; but I see 'twas not to be done.* Thereupon meeting with some of the Senators, he soon deliver'd them out of their Pair. However, being resolv'd to take a slight Revenge of his Wife, making hast Home, *Wife,* said he, *thou hast undone me — For it is Found out that the great Secret I told thee was first divulg'd out of my House; and now must I be banish'd from my native Country, for your wicked gagling Tongue.* At first his Wife would have deny'd the Matter, and put it off from her Husband, by telling him, there were three hundred more besides himself that heard the thing, and why might not one of those divulge it as well

as he? But when he bid her never tell him of three hundred more, and told her 'twas an Invention of his own framing to try her, and to avoid her Importunity, the Lady was then convinc'd of her Folly, and begg'd her Husbands Pardon.

Thus this *Roman* safely and cautiously made the Experiment of his Wives Ability to keep a Secret; as when we powre into a crackt and leaky Vessel, not Wine nor Oyl, but Water only.

But *Fulvius*, one of *Augustus Caesar's* Minions and Favorites, when he heard the Emperor deploring the Desolation of his Family, in regard his two Grand children by his Daughter were both Dead, and *Posthumus*, who only remain'd alive, upon an Accusation charg'd against him, was confin'd to Banishment, so that he was forc'd to set up his Wives Son to succeed him in the Empire; yet upon more compassionate Thoughts, signifying his Determination to re-call *Posthumus* from Exile; this *Fulvius* hearing, related the whole to his Wife, and she to *Livia*. *Livia* sharply expostulated the Matter with *Caesar*; wherefore seeing he had projected the thing so long before, he did not send for his Sisters Son at first, but expos'd her to the Hatred and Revenge of him that he had determin'd to be his Successor? The next Morning *Fulvius* coming into *Augustus's* Presence, and saluting him with a *Hail O Caesar!* *Caesar* retorted upon, *God send thee more Wit Fulvius.* Who presently apprehending the meaning of the Repartee, made hast home again, and calling for his Wife, *Caesar* understands, said he, that I have discovered his secret Counsels, and therefore I am resolv'd to lay violent Hands upon my self. And justly too, said she, thou dost deserve to dye since having liv'd so long with me, thou didst not know the Lavishness of my Tongue, and how unable I was to keep a Secret. However, suffer me to dye first; and with that, snatching the Sword out of her Husbands Hands, she slew her self

Self before his Face. Truly therefore was it said by *Philippides* the *Comedian*, who being curteously and familiarly ask'd by *Lyfimachus*, what he should bestow upon him of all the Treasure that he had, made answer, *Any thing, O King, but your Secrets.*

But there is another Vice no less mischievous, that attends *Garrulity*, call'd *Curiosity*. For there are a sort of People that desire to hear a great deal of News, that they may have Matter enough to twattle abroad; and these are the most diligent in the World to pry and dive into the Secrets of others, which they afterwards enlarge and aggravate with some old Stories and Folleries of their own. And then they are like Children, that neither can endure to hold the Ice in their Hands, nor let it go. Or rather they may be said to lodge other Mens Secrets in their Bosoms, like so many Serpents, which they are not able to keep there long, because they eat their way through. It is said that the Fish call'd *Sea-needles* and *Vipers* rive asunder and burst themselves when they bring forth: In like manner, Secrets dropping from the Mouths of those that cannot contain them, destroy and overthrow the Revealers.

Seleucus Callinicus, in a Battle fought with the *Galatians*, having lost his whole Army, threw away his Royal Diadem, and fled away full speed, wandering through By Roads and Desarts so long, till at last both Horse and Man began to faint for want of Food. At length, coming to a certain Country-man's House, and finding the Owner himself within, he ask'd him for a little Bread and Water, which the Country-man not only readily fetch'd him, but what else his Ground would afford, he very liberally and plentifully set before the King and his Companions, making them all as heartily welcome as it was possible for him to do. At length, in the midst of their Chear, he knew the Kings Face, which overjoy'd the poor Man to that degree, that he
should

should have the Happiness to relieve the King in his Necessity, that nor able to contain himself, nor to dissemble his Knowledge of the King; after he had rode a little way with him, and came to take his Leave, *Forewel King Seleucus*, said the poor Man. But then the King stretching forth his Right-hand, and pulling his Host to his Breast, as if he had intended to have kiss'd him, nodded to one of his Followers with his Sword, to strike off the Country-man's Head,

*Thus speaking what could scarce be understood,
Pth' Dust his Head lies mingl'd with his Blood.*

Whereas if he could but have held his Peace, and master'd his Tongue for a little while, till the King, as afterwards he did, had recover'd his Good Fortune and Grandure, he had been doubtless better rewarded for his Silence, then he was for his Hospitality. And yet this poor Man had some colorable Excuse for letting his Tongue at liberty; that is to say, his Hopes, and the Kindness he had done the King. Whereas most of your Twatlers, without any Cause or Pretence at all, destroy themselves; as it happen'd when certain Fellows began to talk pretty freely in a Barbers Shop, concerning the Tyranny of *Dionysius*, that it was a secure and inexpugnable as a Rock of Adamant, *I wonder*, quoth the Barber, laughing, *that you should talk these things before me, concerning Dionysius, whose Throat is almost every day under my Razor*. Which scurrilous Freedom of the Barber being related to the Tyrant, he caus'd him forthwith to be crucify'd. And indeed the Generality of Barbers are a Prating Generation of Men; in regard the most loquacious Praters usually resort to their Shops, and there sit prating, from whence the Barbers also learn an ill Habit of Twatling. Pleasant therefore was the Answers of *Archelaus* to the Barber, who after he had
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cast the Linnen Toylet about his Shoulders, put this Question to him, *How shall I trim your Majesty? Without any more Prating*, quoth the King. It was a Barber that first reported the News of the great Overthrow which the *Athenians* receiv'd in *Sicily*; for being the first that heard the Relation of it in the *Pyraeum*, from a Servant of one of those that had escap'd out of the Battle; he presently left his Shop at Six and Sevens, and flying into the City, as fast as his Heels could carry him,

*For fear some other should the Honour claim,
Of being First, while he but Second came.*

Now you may be sure, that the first Spreader of this News caus'd a great *Hubbub* in the City, inasmuch that the People thronging together in the Market-Place, made diligent enquiry for the first Divulger. Presently the Barber was brought by Head and Shoulders to the Crowd and examin'd; but he could give no Account of his Author, only one that he never saw or knew in his Life before, had told him the News: which so incens'd the Multitude, that they immediately cry'd out, *To the Rack with the Traytor, tie the lying Rascal Neck and Heels together, this is a meer Story of the Rogues own making. Who heard it? who gave any Credit to it besides himself?* At the same Instant, the Cords were brought out, and the poor Barber was ty'd Neck and Heels together, not to his ease you may be sure. And then it was, and not before, that the News of the Defeat was confirm'd by several that had made a hard shift to escape the Slaughter. Upon which the People scatter'd every one to his own Home, to make their private Lamentation for their particular Losses, leaving the unfortunate Barber Neck and Heels bound fast together; in which condition, he continu'd till late in the Evening, before
he

he was let loose; nor would this reform the impertinent Fool; for no sooner was he at Liberty, but he would needs be enquiring of the Executioner, what News, and what was reported of the Manner of *Nicias* the General's being slain. So inexpugnable and incorrigible a Vice is Loquacity, gotten by Custom and ill Habit, that they cannot leave it off, though they were sure to be hang'd. And yet we find that People have the same Antipathy against Divulgers of bad Tidings, as they that drink bitter and distastful Portions, have against the Cups wherein they drank them. Elegant therefore is the Dispute in *Sophocles*, between the *Messenger* and *Creon*.

Messenger.

*By what I tell, and what you hear,
Do I offend your Heart or Ear?*

Creon.

*Why so inquisitive to sound
My Grief, and search the painful Wound?*

Messenger.

*My News afflicts his Ears, I find;
But 'tis the Fact torments his Mind.*

Thus they that bring us bad Tidings are as bad as they who are the Authors of our Misery; and yet there is no restraining nor correcting the Tongue, that will run at random.

It happen'd that the Temple of *Minerva* in *Lacedæmon* call'd *Chalciceus* (either because it was built of Brats, or built by the *Chacicians*) was robb'd, and nothing but an earthen Pitcher left behind, which caus'd a great Concourse of People, where, while every one spent his Verdict about the empty Pitcher, *Gentlemen*, says one, *Pray give me leave to tell ye my Opinion concerning this Flagon or Pitcher, or what d'ye call it. I am apt to believe that these Sacrilegious Villains, before they ventur'd upon so dangerous*

an Attempt, drank each of them a Draught of Hemlock-Juice, and then brought Wine along with them in this Pitcher; to the end, that if it were their Good hap to escape without being apprehended, they might soon dissolve and extinguish the Strength and Vigor of the Venom by the Force of the Wine unmixt and pure; but if they should be surpriz'd and taken in the Faët, that then they might dye without feeling any Pain under the Torture of the Rack. Having thus said, the People observing so much Forecast and Contrivance in the Thing, would not be perswaded that any Man could have such ready thoughts upon a bare Conjecture; but that he must know it to be so. Thereupon immediately gathering about him, one ask'd him, *Who he was?* Another, *Who knew him?* A third, *How he came to be so much a Philosopher?* And at length, they did so sift and canvass, and fetch him about, that the Fellow confess'd himself to be one of those that committed the Sacriledge. And were not they who murder'd the Poet *Ibicus* discover'd after the same manner, as they sate in the Theater? For as they were sitting there under the open Sky, to behold the publick Pastimes, they observ'd a Flock of Cranes flying over their Heads; upon which they whisper'd merrily one to another; *Look yonder are the Revengers of Ibycus's Death.* Which Words being overheard by some that sate next them, in regard that *Ibicus* had been long missing, but could not be found, though diligent Search had been made after him, they presently gave Information of what they had heard to the Magistrates. By whom being examin'd and convicted, they suffer'd condign Punishment, though not betray'd by the Cranes, but by the Incontinency of their own Tongues; an Avenging *Erinny*s hovering over their Heads, and constraining them to confess the Murther. For as in the Body, wounded and diseased Members draw to themselves the vicious Humors of the neighbouring Parts; in
like

like manner the unruly Tongues of Bablers, infested as it were with Inflammations, where a sort of feverish Pulses continually lye beating, will be always drawing to themselves something of the Secret and private Concerns of other Men. And therefore it ought to be environ'd with Reason as with a Rampart, perpetually lying before it, like a Mound, to stop the overflowing and slippery Exuberance of Impertinent Talk; that we may not seem to be more silly then Geese, which when they take their Flight out of *Cilicia*, over the Mountain *Taurus*, which abounds with Eagles, are reported to carry every one a good big Stone in their Bills, instead of a Bridle or Baricado to restrain their Gagling. By which means they cross those hideous Forrests in the Night time undiscover'd.

Now then if the Question should be ask'd, which were the worst and most pernicious sort of People? I do not believe there is any Man that would omit to name a *Traytor*. And yet by Treason it was, that *Euthykrates* cover'd the uppermost Story of his House with *Macedonian* Timber, according to the Report of *Demosthenes*: That *Philocrates* having receiv'd a Good Sum of Money, spent it all upon Whores and Fish, and liv'd so voluptuously as he did; and that *Euphorbius* and *Philager*, who betray'd *Eretria* were so well rewarded with ample Possessions. But a Prater is a sort of Traytor that no Man needs to hire; for that he offers himself officiously, and of his own accord; nor does he betray to the Enemy either Horse or Walls; but whatever he knows of publick or private Concerns, requiring the greatest Secresie, that he discloses, whether it be in Courts of Judicature, in Conspiracies, or Management of State Affairs; 'tis all one, he expects not so much as the Reward of being thank'd for his Pains; rather he will return thanks to them that give him Audience. And therefore what was said upon a

certain Spendthrift, that rashly, and without any Discretion, wasted his own Estate by his lavish Prodigality to others ;

*Thou art not Liberal ; 'tis a Disease
Of vainly giving, which does thee possess ;
'Tis all to please thy self, what thou dost give,
And therefore they ne're thank thee that receive.*

May be well retorted upon a common Pratler,

*Thou art no Friend, nor dost to me impart,
For Friendships sake, the Secrets of thy Heart ;
But as thy Tongue has nither Bolt nor Lock,
'Tis thy Disease, that thou delight'st to talk.*

Nor would I have the Reader think, that what has hitherto been said, has been discours'd so much to blame and condemn, as to reform and cure that vicious and infectious Malady of Loquaciousness and Incontinency of Speech. For though we surmount and vanquish the Vices of the Mind by Judgment and Exercise, yet must the Judgment precede. For no Man will accustom himself to avoid, and, as it were, to extirpate out of his Soul, those Vices, unless he first abominate them. Nor can we ever detest those evil Habits of the Mind as we ought to do ; but when we rightly judge by Reason's Light of the Prejudice they do us, and the Ignominy we sustain thereby. For Example, we consider and find that these profuse Bablers, desirous of being belov'd, are universally hated ; while they study to gratifie, they become troublesome ; while they seek to be admir'd, they are derided. If they aim at Profit, they loose all their Labour ; in short, they injure their Friends, advantage their Enemies, and undo themselves.

And therefore the first Remedy and Cure for this spreading Malady, will be this, to reckon up all the shameful Infamies and Disasters that attend it. The
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second Remedy is to take into serious Consideration the Practice of what is quite opposite and contrary to it, by always hearing, remembring, and having ready at hand, the due Praises and Encomiums of Reserv'dness and Taciturnity, together with the Majesty, Sanctimony, and mysterious Profoundness of Silence. Let them consider how much more below'd, how much more admir'd, how far they are reputed to excel in Prudence, who deliver their Minds in few Words, roundly, home, and sententious, and contract a great deal of Sense within a small Compass of Speech, then such as fly out into voluminous Language, and suffer their Tongues to run before their Wit. The former are those whom *Plato* so much praises, and likens unto skilful Archers, darting forth their Sentences thick and close, as it were crisp'd and curl'd one within another. To this same shrewdness of Expression, *Lycurgus* accustom'd his Fellow Citizens from their Childhood, by the Exercise of Silence, contracting and thickning their Discourse into a compendious Delivery. For as the *Celtiberians* make Steel of Iron, by burying it in the Ground, thereby to refine it from the gross and earthy Part; so the *Lacedæmonic* way of Speech has nothing of Bark upon it; but by cutting off all superfluity of Words, becomes steel'd and sharpen'd to pierce the Understanding of the Hearers. So their Conciseness of Language, so ready to turn the Edge to all manner of Questions, became natural by their Extraordinary Practice of Silence. And therefore it would be very expedient for Persons so much given to talk, always to have before their Eyes the short and pithy Sayings of those People, were it only to let them see the Force and Gravity which they contain. For Example, *The Lacedæmonians to Philip; Dionysius in Corinth.* And when *Philip* wrote thus to the *Spartans*, *If once I enter into your Territories, I will destroy ye all, never to rise again.* They answer'd him with no more then,

If To King *Demetrius*, exclaiming in a great Rage, *What, have the Spartans sent me but one Ambassador?* The Ambassador nothing terrify'd, *One to One*, said he. Certainly they that spoke short and concisely, were much admir'd by the Ancients. Therefore the *Ampieties* gave order, that neither *Homer's Iliads*, nor his *Odysseys* should be written over the Gates of *Pythian Apollo's Temple*; but, *Know thyself, Nothing too much, Give good Sureties, Mischiefs at hand*. So much did they admire Conciseness of Speech, comprehending full Sense in so much Brevity, made solid as it were by the Force of a Hammer. Does not the Deity himself study compendious Utterance in the Delivery of his Oracles? Is he not therefore call'd *Loxias*, because he avoids rather Loquacity then Obscurity? Are not they that signifie their Meaning by certain Signs, without Words, in great Admiration and highly applauded. Thus *Heraclitus* being desir'd by his Fellow Citizens, to give them his Opinion concerning *Concord*, ascended the publick Pulpit, and taking a Cup of cold Water in his Hand, first sprinkl'd it with a little Flower, then stirring it with a Sprig of *Pennyroyal*, drank it off, and so came down again. Intimating thereby, that if Men would but be contented with what was next at hand, without longing after Dainties and Superfluities, it would be an easie thing for Cities to live in Peace and Concord one with another.

Scilurus, King of the *Scythians*, left fourscore Sons behind him; who when he found the Hour of Death approaching, ordered them to bring him a Bundle of small Javelins, and then commanded every one singly to try whether they could break the Bundle as it were ty'd up altogether, which when they told him was impossible for them to do, he drew out the Javelins one by one, and break them all himself with ease. Thereby declaring, that so long as they kept together united and in Concord, their Force would be invincible; but that
by

by Dis-union and Discord, they would enfeeble each other and render their Dominion of small Continuance. He then that by often Repetition and Reflexion shall enure himself to such Presidents as these, may in time prehaps be more delighted with these short and conclusive Apothegms, then with the Exorbitances of loose and lavish Discourse. For my own Part, I must acknowledge that I am not a little asham'd of my self, when I call to mind that same Domestick Servant, of whom I am now going to speak, and consider how great a thing it is to advise before a Man speaks, and then to be able to maintain and stick to what he has resolv'd upon.

Publius Piso the *Rhetorician*, being unwilling to be disturb'd with much Talk, gave order to his Servants to answer to such Questions only as he should ask them, and say no more. Then having a Design to give an Entertainment to *Clodius*, at that time the Chief Magistrate, he order'd him to be invited, and provided a splendid Banquet for him, as in all probability he could do no less. At the time appointed, several other Guests appear'd, only they waited for *Clodius's* coming, who tarr'd much longer then was expected; so that *Piso* sent his Servant several times to him, to know whether he would be pleas'd to come to Supper, or no. Now in regard it grew late, and that *Piso* despair'd of his coming; *What*, said he to his Servant, *did you call him?* Yes, reply'd the Servant, *Why then does he not come away?* — *Because he told me he would not come* — *Why did you not tell me so before?* — *Because, Sir, you never ask'd me the Question.* This was a *Roman* Servant: But you shall have an *Athenian* Servant, that while he is digging and delving, will give his Master an Account of the Articles and Capitulations in a Treaty of Peace. So strangely does Custom prevail in all things; of which, let us now discourse; for there is no Curb or Bridle that can

tame or restrain a Libertine Tongue ; only Custom must vanquish that Disease.

First therefore, when there are many Questions propounded in the Company where thou art, accustom thy self to Silence, till all the rest have refus'd to give an Answer. For as *Sophocles* observes,

*Although in Racing Swiftneſs is requir'd,
To give advice, there's no ſuch haſt deſir'd.*

No more does Voice and Answer aim at the ſame Mark. For it is the Buſineſs of a Racer to get the Start of him that contends with him. But if another Man gives a ſufficient Answer, there needs no more then by commending and approving what he ſays, to gain the Reputation of a Candid Perſon. If not, then to tell wherein the other fail'd, and to ſupply the Defect, will neither be unreaſonable, nor a thing that can juſtly merit Diſtaſte. But above all things, let us take ſpecial heed when another is ask'd a Queſtion, that we do not chop it to prevent his returning an Answer. And perhaps it is as little commendable, when a Queſtion is ask'd of another, to put him by, and undertake the Solution of what is demanded our ſelves. For thereby we ſeem to intimate, that the Perſon to whom the Queſtion was put, was not able to reſolve it and that the Propounder had not Diſcretion ſufficient to know of whom to ask it. Beſides that ſuch a Malepart Forwardneſs in anſwering, is not only indecent, but injurious and affrontive. For he that prevents the Perſon to whom the Queſtion is put, in returning his Answer, would in effect inſinuate a *What need had you to ask of him? What can he ſay to it? When I am in preſence, no Man ought to be ask'd thoſe Queſtions but my ſelf.* And many times we put the Queſtion to ſome People, not for want of an Answer, but only to miniſter occaſion of Diſcourſe to provoke them to Familiarity, and to have the

the Pleasure of their Wit and Conversation; as *Socrates* was wont to challenge *Theates* and *Carmides*. Therefore to prevent another in returning his Answers, to abstract his Ears, and draw off his Cogitations from another to himself, is the same thing as to run, and salute a Man who designs to be saluted by some Body else; or to divert his Eyes upon our selves, which were already fix'd upon another. Considering that if he, to whom the Question is put, refuse to return an Answer, it is but decent for a Man to contain himself, and by an Answer accommodate to the will of the Propounder, modestly and respectfully to put in, as if it had been at the Request, or in the Behalf of the other. For they that are ask'd a Question, if they fail in their Answer, are justly to be pardon'd; but he that voluntarily presumes to answer for another, gives distaste, let his Answer be never so rational; but if he mistake, he is derided by all the Company.

The second point of Exercise, in reference to our own Answering of Questions, wherein a Man that is given to talk, ought to be extremely careful, is first of all, not be over-hasty in his Answers to such as provoke him to talk, on purpose to make themselves merry and to put an Affront upon him. For some there are, who not out of any Desire to be satisfy'd, but meerly to pass away the time, study certain Questions, and then propound them to Persons which they know love to multiply Words, on purpose to make themselves Sport. Such Men therefore ought to take heed how they run headlong, and leap into Discourse, as if they were glad of the Occasion; but to consider the Behaviour of the Propounder, and the benefit and usefulness of the Question. When we find that the Propounder is really desirous to be inform'd, it is convenient then for a Man to bethink himself a while, and make some Pause between the Question and the Answer, to the end the Proposal,
if

if he pleases to make any Additions to his Proposal, may have time to do it, and himself a convenient Space to consider what Answer to make, for fear of running at random, and stifling the Question before it be fully propounded; or of giving one Answer for another, for want of consideration what he ought to say, which is the Effect of an over-hasty Zeal to be talking. True it is indeed, that the *Pythian* Priestess was wont to give her Oracular Answers at the very Instant, and sometimes before the Question was propounded. For that the Diety, whom she serves,

*Both understands the Mute that cannot speak,
And hears the Silent, ere his Mind he break.*

But it behoves a Man that would return a pertinent Answer, to stay till he rightly apprehend the Sence, and understands the Intent of him that propounds the Question; least he may happen to make good the Proverb,

*A Rake we call'd for, they half Mad
Tell us a Story of a Spade.*

There is also another way to subdue this inordinate and insatiate Greediness of having all the Talk, that it may not seem as if we had some old Flux of Humors impostumated about the Tongue, which we were willing to have lanc'd and let out by a Question, giving occasion of lavish Discourse. *Socrates* therefore, though never so Thirsty after violent Exercise, never would allow himself the Liberty to drink, till he had empty'd his Bucket of Water, by pouring it out by degrees; to the end he might accustom his sensual Appetite to attend Reason's Appointment.

Now therefore we come to understand that there are three sorts of Answers to Questions; the *First*, which is necessary, the *Second*, out of Civility, and the *Third*, superfluous.

superfluous. For Example, if a Man should ask *Whether Socrates is within?* The other, if he were in an ill Humor, or not dispos'd to make many Words, would answer, *Not within:* Or if he intended to be more *Laconic*, he would cut off, *Within*, and reply briefly *No.* Thus the *Lacedæmonians*, when *Philip* sent them an *Epistle*, to know, whether or no they would admit him into their City, vouchsaf'd him no other Answer, then only *'AY* or *NO*, fairly written in Capital Letters, upon a large Sheet of Paper. Another, that would answer more courteously, would say, *He is not within; he is gone among the Bankers;* and perhaps he would add, *where he expects some Friends of his out of Ionia.* But a superfluous *Prater*, and one that abounded in Words, would reply, *He is not within, but is gone among the Bankers; in expectation to meet certain Ionian Friends, who are recommended to him in a Letter from Alcibiades, who lives at Miletum with Tissaphernes, one of the Great King of Persia's Lieutenant Generals, who formerly assisted the Lacedæmonians; but by the Solicitation of Alcibiades, is in League with the Athenians; for Alcibiades being desirous to return to his own Country, has prevail'd with Tissaphernes to change his Mind, and joyn with his Fellow Citizens.* And thus perhaps you shall have him run on, and repeat the whole Eighth Book of *Thucydides*, and overwhelm a Man with his Impertinent Discourse, till he has taken *Miletum*, and banish'd *Alcibiades* a second Time. Herein therefore ought a Man chiefly to restrain the Profuseness of his Language, as it were, following the Foot-steps of the Question, and circumscribing the Answer, as it were within a Center and Distance proportionable to the Benefit which the Propounder proposes to make of his Question. 'Tis reported of *Carneades*, that before he was well known in the World, while he was disputing in the *Gymnasium*, the President of the Place, sent him an Admonition to moderate

moderate his Voice (for he naturally spoke very deep and loud) in Answer to which, when he desir'd the President to send him a Gage for his Voice, the President not improperly made Answer, *Let that be the Person who disputes with thee.* In like manner, the intent of the Propounder ought to be the Rule and Measure of the Propounder. Moreover, as *Socrates* was wont to say, That those Meats were chiefly to be abstain'd from, which allur'd Men to Eat when they were not a-hungry, and those Drinks to be refrain'd, that invited Men to drink when they were not a-dry; so it would behove a Man that is lavish of his Tongue, to be afraid of those Discourses and Themes wherein he most delights, and makes it his Business to be most prolix; and whenever he perceives them flowing in upon him, to resist them to the utmost of his Power. For Example, your Martial Men are always talking of Sieges and Battels, and the Poet often introduces

a Hector, as a Nestor, boasting often of his own At-
some read it. *chievements and Feats of Arms. And*
the same disease is incident to noted Plea-
ders at the Barr, and accompanies such as have unex-
pectedly risen to be the Favorites of Great Princes. For
such will be always up with their Stories, how they
were introduc'd at first; how they ascended by degrees;
how they got the better in such a Case; what Argu-
ments they us'd in such a Case; and lastly, how they
were humm'd up and applauded in Court. For to say
Truth, Gladness and Joy are much more Loquacious
then the same Agrippina, so often feign'd in their Come-
dies; rousing up, and still refreshing it self with new
Relations, and therefore they are prone to fall in-
to such Stories upon the least Occasion given. For
not only,

*Where the Member most is pain'd,
 There the Patient lays his Hand.*

But

But Pleasure also has a Voice within it self, and leads the Tongue about, to be a support to their Memories: Like Lovers, that spend the greatest Part of their Time in Songs and Sonnets, that refresh their Memories with the Representations of their Mistresses. Concerning which Amours of theirs, when Companions are wanting, they frequently discourse with Things that are void of Life.

*Oh dearest Bed, whereon we want to rest,
And undisturb'd the Height of Pleasure Taste.*

And again,

*O blessed Lamp, for surely thee
Bacchis believes some Deity.*

And again,

*Surely the greatest of the Gods thou art,
Or else the She that does possess my Heart.*

And indeed it may well be said, that a loose Tongu'd Fellow is no more, in respect of his Discourse, then a white Line struck with Chalk upon a Piece of Timber. For in regard there are several Subjects of Discourse, and that many Men are more subject to some then to others; it behoves every one to take care of all in general, and to suppress them in such a manner, that the Delight which they take therein, may not decoy them into their belov'd Prolixity and Profuseness of Words beyond his white Line. The same Inclination to overshoot themselves in Pratling, appears in such as are prone to those kind of Discourses, wherein they suppose, themselves to excel others, either in Habit or Experience. For such a one being as well a Lover of himself, as ambitious of Glory.

*The chiefest Part of all the day doth spend,
In this or that, all others to transcend.*

For Example, he that reads much, endeavours to excel in History; the Grammarian, in the Artificial couching of Words; the Traveller is full of his Geography. But all these Surplusages are to be avoided with great Caution, least Men, intoxicated therewith, grow fond of their old Infirmities, and return to their former Freaks, like Beasts that cannot be driven from their Haunts. *Cyrus* therefore, yet a young Stripling, was most worthy of Admiration, who would never challenge his Equals and Play-fellows to any Exercise wherein he excell'd, but wherein he knew himself to be inferior; unwilling that the first should fret for the Loss of the Prize, which he was sure to win, and loath to loose what he could gain from the others better Skill.

On the other side, the Profuse Talker is of such a Disposition, that if any Discourse happen, from which he might be able to learn something, and inform his Ignorance, that he refuses and rejects: Nor can you hire him to hold his Tongue; so that after his rolling and restless Fancy has muster'd up some few obsolete and all to be tatter'd Rhapsodies to supply his Vanity, out he flings them, as if he were Master of all the Knowledge of the World. Just like one amongst us, who having read two or three of *Ephoru's* Books, tir'd all Mens Ears with his Talk, and spoil'd and brake up all the Feasts and Societies where e're he came, with his continual Relations of the Battle of *Leuctra*, and the Consequences of it; by which means he got himself a Nick-name, while every one call'd him *Epaminondas*. But this is one of the least Inconveniences of this Infirmary: and indeed we ought to make it one
Step

Step towards the Cure, to turn this violent Vein of Twatling upon such Subjects as those. For such a Loquacity is less a Nuisance when it superabounds in only what belongs to Human Literature.

It would be necessary also that the same sort of People who are addicted to this Vice, should accustom themselves to write upon some Subject or other, and to dispute of certain Questions apart. For *Antipater the Stoick*, as we may probably conjecture, either not being able, or else unwilling to come in Dispute with *Carneades*, vehemently inveighing against the *Stoicks*, declin'd to meet him fairly in the Schools, yet would be always writing Answers against him; and because he fill'd whole Volumes full of Contradictory Arguments, and still oppos'd him with Assertions that only made a Noise, he was call'd *Calamoboas*, as one that made a great Clamor with his Pen to no Purpose: So 'tis very probable that such fighting with their own Shadows, and exclaiming one against another apart by themselves, driving and restraining them from the Multitude, would render them more tolerable and sociable in Civil Company. Like curst Curs, which after they have once discharg'd their Fury upon Sticks and Stones, become less fierce toward Men. It would be always of great Importance to them to converse with their Superiors and Elders; for that the awful Reverence and Respect which they bore to their Dignity and Gravity, might accustom them in time to silence. And it would be evermore expedient for them to intermix and involve with those Rules and Exercises I have already set down, this manner of Ratiocination with themselves, before they speak, and at the same time that the Words are just ready to break out of their

their Mouths; *What is this which I would say, that presses so hard to be gone? for what reason would this Tongue of mine so fain be walking? What good shall I get by speaking? What Mischief shall I incur by holding my Peace?* For we are not to ease and discharge our selves of our Words, as if they were a heavy Burthen that overloaded us; for Speech remains as well when utter'd, as before; but Men either speak in behalf of themselves, when some Necessity compels them, or for the Benefit of those that hear them, or else to recreate one another with the Delights of Converse, on purpose to mitigate and render more savory, as with Salt, the Toyls of our daily Employments. But if there be nothing profitable in Speaking, nothing necessary to them that hear what is said, nothing of Satisfaction or Delight, by being thereby render'd acceptable to all Societies: What need is there it should be spoken? For Words may be in vain, and to no purpose, as well as Deeds. But after and above all that has been said, we ought always to bear in Remembrance, and always to have ready at our Tongues end, that Saying of *Simonides*, That he who is given to Talk, has many times an occasion to repent him of his Words, but never he that can hold his Tongue. Then as for Exercise, we must believe it to be a matter of great Importance, as being that which overcomes and masters all things; considering what Toil and Labour Men will undergo to get rid of an old Cough or Hickup, the Effects of Superfluity and Laziness, and that Silence and Taciturnity are not only never afflicted with Thirst, as *Hippocrates* observes, but altogether free from Pain and Sorrow.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals :

Vol IV.

Of Love.

Translated from the Greek by J. Phillips, Gent.

Flavianus

WAS it not in *Helicon*, Dear *Autobulus*, that those Discourses were held concerning Love which whether thou hast already set down in Writing, or still carry'd in thy Memory, as having often desired them from thy Father, are now in expectation that thou wilt recite to us at our importunate Request?

Autobulus.

It was in *Helicon*, Dear *Flavianus* among the *Muses*, at what time the *Thespians* perform'd the *Erotic* Solemnities. For (as in Honour of the *Muses*) so with the same Devotion they celebrate every five Years certain Games and Festivals very Magnificent and Splendid in Honour of *Cupid*.

Flavianus.

Knowst thou then what it is we all desire at thy hands, as many as are gather'd here together to be thy Auditors?

Autobulus

No but I shall know, when once by you inform'd.

Flavianus.

Curtal, we beseech ye, your Discourse at present, for bearing the Descriptions of Meadows and Shades, together with the crawling Ivy, and windings of the purling Riv-
 olets, and whatever else being customary in describing such kind of Places make *Plato's Ilissus* desirable: such as the Chastity-preserving Tree, with the pleasing variety of Herbs and Flowers covering the rising Hillocks, study'd with more Curiosity then Elegancy.

Autobulus.

What needed my Relation, dearest *Flavianus*, such a Proem as this? The occasion that gave birth to these discourses requires only a numerous Auditory and a Theater; otherwise there is nothing wanting of an Interlude. Therefore let us first beseech the Mother of the *Muses* to be propitious and assist us in the discovery of the Fable. For my Father, born a long time since before me, having newly espous'd my Mother, by reason of an unlucky variance that fell out between their Parents, took a journey to *Thespie*, with an intention to Sacrifice to the God of Love, and carry'd my Mother also to the Feast (for that it properly belong'd to her as well to make the Feast, as to perform the Sacrifice) besides several of his familiar Acquaintance that accompany'd him from his House.

Now being arriv'd at *Thespie*, he met with *Daphneus*, the Son of *Archidamus*, and *Lysander* in Love with the Daughter of *Simon*, above all her Suitors, chiefly the most welcome and acceptable to her. There he also found *Soclarus*, the Son of *Ariston*, who was come from *Tithora*; together with *Protogenes* of *Tarsus*, and *Zen-xippus* the *Lacedemonian*, by whom he had been a Guest several times kindly entertain'd, with many other *Beotian* Gentlemen,

Gentlemen, with whom my Father was intimately acquainted. Thus they stay'd for two or three days in the City entertaining each other with learned discourse, one while in the Common wrestling Places, sometimes in the Theaters, still keeping company together. After that, avoiding the Troublesom Contest of the Harpers and Musicians, it being found out that all would be carry'd by anticipation of Parties, the greatest part brake Company, and as if they had been discamping out of an Enemies Country, retir'd to *Helicon* and took up thir Lodgings among the Muses. Whether the next morning came to them *Anthemion* and *Pisias*, Persons of eminent Nobility ; and both ally'd to *Baccho*, Sir-named the *Fair*, and both I know not how at some difference one with another, by reason of the Affection which they severally bore to him. For there was at *Thispie Ismendra* of an Illustrious Family and Wealthy withal ; and indeed in all other respects discreet and modest ; and moreover she had continu'd a Widow without spot or stain to her Reputation, though both young and beautiful.

Now it happen'd that while this Brisk Widow was endeavouring to make up a Match between *Baccho* the Son of a Neighbouring Lady her intimate Friend, and a certain just blooming Virgin nearly ally'd to her self, by often talking with the Young Gentleman and much frequenting his Company, she began to feel some sparks of kindness kindled for him in her own Breast. Afterwards hearing him highly commended by others, and speaking many things in his praise her self, and finding him belov'd by a great number of Persons of the best Rank, by degrees she fell desperately in love with the Youth ; nevertheless with a resolution to do nothing unbecoming her Birth and Quality, but after public Wedlock to acknowledge him her Husband : But as the Match seem'd impracticable, by reason of the di-

stance of their years, so the Mother of the Young Man suspected the Nobility and Grandeur of her House not to be correspondent to her Son's condition, which rendered him incapable of such a preferment. Moreover his Companions that were wont to go a hunting with him, weighing the difference between his and the Age of *Ismenodora*, filled his head with several scruples, asking him why he did not Marry his Mother, if he wanted an Old woman and bidding him consider how much it would cost him after a little time in new Sets of Teeth; and thus scaring him with continual frumps and scoffs, more effectually hinder'd the Match, then they who labour'd industriously and seriously to prevent it. But at last the Young Man, shaking off all others, applys himself to *Pisias* and *Anthemion* for their advice in a Matter of so great concernment. The Elder of these two, *Ariston*, was his Uncle; and *Pisias* the most austere of all his Lovers. The latter therefore withstood the Match with all his Might, and upbraided *Anthemion* as one that went about to betray the Young Man to *Ismenodora*. On the other side *Anthemion* told *Pisias*, that he did not well to do as he did, having the Reputation of a worthy honest Man, to imitate those leud Lovers, that endeavour'd to deprive their Friend of a Noble House, a Rich Wife, and other corresponding conveniences, that he might have the Pleasure to see him frequently naked in the Wrestling Places, fresh and smooth, and a stranger to Female Sports. However to prevent the growing of any quarrel between them, through long and Passionate disputes, they chose for Umpires of the Controversie my Father and those Friends that were with him: and besides them, as if they had been chosen on purpose, *Daphneus* pleaded for *Pisias*, and for *Anthemion*, *Protogenes*; who bitterly inveighing against *Ismenodora*, O *Hercules*, cry'd *Daphneus* what may we not expect, when *Protogenes* bids defiance to
 Love?

Love? He that all along has spent as well the serious as sportive hours of his Life both in Love and for Love; without regard either to Learning or his Country, not like to *Laius*, who was but five days journey distant from it; for his was a slow sort of Love upon the dry Land; whereas your *Cupid*, *Protophenes*

With nimble Wings display'd.

Cross'd the Seas from *Cilicia* to *Athens*, merely to visit and straggle up and down with Lovely Boys. And indeed, such at first was the true cause of *Protophenes's* Peregrination. At which the Company falling into a loud Laughter, how! said *Protophenes*, can you beleive that I at this time wage War against Love, and that I do not rather fight for Love against intemperate Desire and lascivious Wantonness, which under the shelter of the most honest and fairest Names that are, let themselves loose into the most shameful Acts of inordinate Lust and Concupiscence. Then *Daphneus*, do ye number Wedlock, said he, and the Conjunction of Man and Wife (then which there is no Tye more sacred in the World) among the vile and dishonest Actions of the World? Why truly, reply'd *Protophenes*, this same Bond of Wedlock, as being necessary for Generation, is not undeservedly perhaps extoll'd by our grave Politicians and Lawgivers, and by them recommended to the Multitude. But I must tell ye, if you mean true Love, there is not a Farthings worth of it to be found among Women. Nor do I believe, that either you your selves or any other that dote so much as you pretend to do, upon Women and Virgins, love them any otherwise, then as Flys love Milk, or Bees love Honeycombs; only as Cooks and Butchers Fat up Calves and Poultry in the Dark, not out of any extraordinary affection which they bear these Creatures, but for the gain which they make of them. Well knowing that

Nature prompts all Men to the use of Bread and Meat with Moderation, and so far as may suffice the Appetite. The excess of which becomes a Vice, under the name of Gluttony or Gurmandizing. Thus it is natural for Men and Women to desire the Pleasures of mutual enjoyment; but as for that impetuous Concupiscence that hurries the greatest part of Mankind with so much strength and violence, it is not properly call'd Love. For Love, that is bred in a Young and truly Generous Heart, by means of Friendship terminates in Vertue. Whereas all our Desires towards Women, let them be taken in the best sence we can, serve us only to reap the fruit of Pleasure, and to assist us in the Fruition of Youth and Beauty, which when once decay'd, we love no longer. As *Aristippus* testified to one that would have put him out of conceit with *Lais*, for that, as he said, she did not truly love him; no more, said he, am I beloved by pure Wine, or good Fish, and yet I willingly make use of both. For the end of Desire is Pleasure and Enjoyment. But Love having once lost the hopes of Freindship, will neither tarry, nor cherish, for Beauty sake, that which is irksom, though never so gaudy in the flower of Youth, if it bring not forth the Fruit of a Disposition propense to Friendship and Vertue. And therefore it is that you hear a certain Husband, in a Tragedy thus talking to his Wife,

*Thou hast me—true—and I thy proud disdain
Will brook with patience, careless of the Pain,
So long as my Dishonour brings me Gain.*

Though I take him to be far the more amourous Man of the two, that can endure for the sake of his carnal Pleasure, the Plague of a curst, ill natur'd shrew, that is always scolding then, he that bears the Infamy of a Cuckold, when his Wife and he are well pay'd for it. The first of which Love Martyrs *Phillipides* the Comedi-

and thus derided in the Person of *Stratocles* the Rhetorician'd

*She jowrs and growles and turns her Tail
With fury so unkind,
The Wittal blest would think himself,
To kiss her Coyf behind,*

Now if this be the Passion you talk of which is to be call'd *Love*, it is a spurious and effeminate Love, that sends us to the Womens Chambers, as it were to the *Cynosarges* at *Athens*. Or rather, as they say, there is a sort of Generous and true bred Mountain Eagles, which *Homer* calls the black Eagle and Eagle of Prey; and then again there is another sort of bastard Eagle, that takes Fish and Birds that are lazy and slow of Flight: and wanting Food, makes a shrill and mournful noise for Hunger. Thus the true Genuine Love is that of Children, not flaming with Concupiscence, as according to *Anacreon* the Love of Maids and Virgins does, neither besmear'd with odoriferous Oyntments, nor alluring with Smiles and rowling Glances: but you shall find him plain and simple, and undebauch'd with Pleasures in the Schools of the Philosophers, or in the Wrestling Lists, and Places of public Exercise, smart and generous in the Chace of Youth, and exhorting to Vertue all that he finds to be fit objects of his Diligence. Whereas that other Love, Nice and Effeminate, and always nestling in the Bosoms and Beds of Women, pursuing soft pleasures, and wasted with unmanly Delights, that have no Gust of friendship or heav'nly ravishment of Mind, such a Love is to be despis'd and rejected of all Mankind; as *Solon* banish't it out of his Commonwealth, when he forbid Slaves and Servants the use of male Familiarity, but permitted them the Liberty to accompany with Women. As looking upon Friendship to be laudable and civil, but Pleasure to be a vulgar thing and unbecoming a Man born free. Whence it appears that for a Ser-

Servant to make Love to a Boy, is not allowable but only to a Citizen or a Freeman: for this is no mischievous Love of Copulation, like the Affection toward Women.

Now while *Protogenes* was desirous to have said more, *Daphneus* interrupting him. Truly, said he, you have done well to put us in mind of *Solon*, as if we were to make use of him to be the judge of a Person addicted to Love, that is to say, of a real Lover. Hear what he says.

*Then dote upon the stately Youth of Boys,
Their fragrant breath admiring and soft Thighs.*

Add to this of *Solon* that other of *Æschylus*,

*Ingrateful for the Kisses of my Lips,
Not to revere the Glory of my Hips.*

These are proper judges of Love, but others there are who deride all those that would have Lovers inspect their Thighs and Hanches, like so many Sacrificers or Bowel Observers. And for my Part I draw from hence a very strong Argument on the behalf of the Women. For if Male-Converse, which is altogether against Nature, neither extinguishes nor is any ways noxious to Amorous Affection; much more probable is it, that the Love of Women which is according to Nature, should reach to the consummation of Friendship, by vertue of that Obsequious Beauty which attends it. For I must tell ye, *Protogenes*, the submission of the Female to the Male was by the Ancients express'd by the word *χάρις*. For which reason *Pindarus* observes that *Vulcan* was by *Juno* brought forth without the Graces, that is, when she was in a morose humor, and would not oblige *Jupiter*: and *Sappho* tells a young Virgin, not yet ripe for Matrimony,

*Passive Obedience 'tis that Women yield,
To oblige their Woers; but thy Youth, poor Child,
Is yet too raw to be so deeply skill'd.*

And

And a certain Person puts the Question to *Hercules*,

*Did you by Force constrain, but ill obey'd,
Or by Persuasion win the willing Maid?*

But the Submission of Males to Males, if it be by Compulsion of Strength, is call'd a violent and forcible Rape; but if it be voluntary; for one Man to cover another, like Bulls and Horses, and to counterfeit the Act of Generation, in defiance of Nature, such a one is void of all Allurement, brutish and contrary to the end of Venereal Pleasure. Wherefore I am apt to believe that *Salon* wrote those Lines when he was young, brisk, and full of Seed, as *Plato* phrases it: For when he was grown into Years, he sang another Note;

*The Sports of Venus, now, are my Delight,
Or else with Bacchus to carouse;
At other times the Muses Charms invite;
These are the chiefest Pleasures Mankind knows.*

As if he had alter'd his Course of Life, and retir'd from the Storms and Tempests of *Pæderastick* Fury, into the Calms of Wedlock and Philosophy. Now then *Protogenes*, let us but consider the truth of the Matter, we shall find the Passion of Lovers to be the same, whether it be for Boys or for Women; or if out of a contentious Humor, you will distinguish them, you shall find that this Affection for Boys does not keep it self within Bounds, but like a late-born Issue, clandestinely brought forth in the Dark, and out of Season, strives to expel the truly Genuine and Legitimate Love, which is much the more ancient. For give me leave to tell ye, my dear Friend, it was but as it were of yesterday's standing, or the day before, since young Boys began to strip and shew themselves naked in the Public Places of Exercise, that this Frenzy getting in by degrees,

degrees, and crowding in there, afterwards by little and little, being better fledg'd, and gathering strength of Wings in the Wrestling-Rings, the Insolence of it could never since be so restrain'd, but that still it will be affronting and adulterating that same Nuptial and Conjugal Love which is the Coadjutrix of Nature, and helps to immortalize mortal Mankind, which being extinguish'd by Death, it raises up, and immediately restores again by Generation. But this same *Protophenes* denies there is any Pleasure in Male Concupiscence, for he is asham'd and afraid to acknowledg it. Therefore there must be some decent Pretence for the feeling and handling these adult and lovely Youths. And truly he has found out a very clever Excuse, alledging it to be for the Sake of Friendship and Vertue. Therefore he rowls himself in the Dust, washes with cold Water, erects his Brows, and outwardly pretends to Philosophy and Chastity, for fear of the Law; but when Darkness covers the Earth, and that all People have betaken themselves to their Rest,

*Fearless he steals to his belov'd delight,
And sweetly tastes th' autumnal Fruit all Night.*

Now if it were as *Protophenes* says, that no Carnal Conjunction attended these Masculine Familiarities, how can it be Love, when *Venus* is absent? Seeing that of all the Goddesses, she it is that *Cupid* is bound to obey and attend, and that he has no Honour or Power, but what she confers upon him? But if there be a sort of Love without Love, as a Man may be drunk without Wine, by drinking the Decoctions of Figs or Barley, the Disturbance of such a Love must prove fruitless, and to no end, and consequently loathsome and offensive.

These things thus said, it was apparent that *Pisias* found himself touch'd to the Quick, and was much concern'd

ern'd for what *Daphneus* had spoken. But after he had been silent a while, O Hercules, said he, *what a strang Impudence and Levity is this in Men, to acknowledge themselves ty'd to Women by their generating Parts, like Dogs to Bitches; by this means expelling and banishing Love from the Places of Exercise, from the publick Portico's, and from conversing under the open Sky and Sun-shine, to the Snares, Poniards, Philters, and Soceries of Lascivious Women; for it is not convenient for the Chast, either to love or to be belov'd.* At which Words, as my Father told me, he took *Protogenes* by the Hand, and repeated to him these Verses:

*Words, such as these, the Spartan Courage warm;
And the affronted Youth provoke to arm.*

For surely the Exorbitant Language of *Pisias* gives us good reason to take *Daphneus's* part, while he introduces over the Head of Wedlock, a Society void of Love, and utterly a Stranger to that same Friendship which descends, and is inspir'd from above; which if real Affection and Submission be wanting, can hardly be restrain'd by all the Curbs and Yokes of Shame and Fear. Then *Pisias*, for my part, said he, I give little heed to this Argument; for as for *Daphneus*, I find him in the same Condition with Brass; for as Brass is not so easily melted by the Fire as by the force of the same melted and liquid Metal being powr'd upon it, which mollifies both alike, and causes them to run and mix together; so it is not the Beauty of *Lysandar* that inflames him, but the Conversing long with her that is already inflam'd and full of Fire, that sets him all in a Flame himself; and it is apparent, that unless he makes hast to us, he will suddenly be melted with his own Heat. But I perceive, said he, the same thing will befall me, which *Athemion* has most reason to desire, that I shall offend both my Judges and my self; and therefore I shall

shall say no more. Then *Anthemion*, 'tis very true indeed, your Fear is just for you ought at the first to have spoken to the purpose, and what was proper to the Argument in Hand. To this *Pisias* reply'd, that he was willing that every Woman should have her Lover, but withal, that it very much concern'd *Baccho* to have a care how he entangl'd himself in *Ismedora's* Wealth; least while we match him with so much Grandeur and Magnificence, we consume him to nothing, like Tin among Brass. for I must tell you, it would be a hard matter for so young a Stripling as he is, though he should marry a plain and ordinary Woman, to keep the Sovereignty of the Breeches, and to be still predominant, as Wine above Water. But we see her already design Superiority and Command; else why should she refuse so many Suitors of great Wealth and Noble Extraction that court her daily, to woe her self a meer Boy, that has but newly assum'd the Robes of Manhood, and more fit to go to School then to Marry. And therefore those Husbands that are wise, without any Admonition, out of their own Foresight, clip their Wives Wings themselves; that is, they prune away their Riches, that prompt them to Luxury and Vanity, and render them inconstant and foolish; so that many times, by the help of these Wings, they soar out of their Husbands Reach and fly quite away; or if they stay at Home, better it were for a Man to be chain'd with Fetters of Gold, as they chain their Prisoners in *Æthiopia*, then to be ty'd to the Riches of a Wife. However, said *Protogenes*, he has not hinted to us in the least, the hazard we run of inverting absurdly and ridiculously the Counsel of *Hesiod*, whose Words are these;

For Wedlock ripe, look out, and choose thy Love;
Not under thirty much, nor much above,

This

*This is the Season; they that longer tarry,
Tarry too long, if they for Off-spring Marry.
Virgins of fourteen Signs of Ripeness shew,
At fifteen match'em, e're more harm they know.*

We quite contrary to this Precept, are going about to couple a young Lad, scarce ripe for Marriage, to a Lady much older then himself, like those that graft the tender Scions of Dates and Fig trees upon old Stocks, to make them bear Fruit before their Season. But you'll say, the Woman is in Love up to the Ears, and burns with Desire. Who is he that will hinder her from Masquerading before his Doors? from singing her Amorous Lamentations at his Windows? from adorning his Statues with Chaplets and Garlands of Flowers? from duelling her Rivals, and winning him from them all by Feats of Arms? for these are Acts that demonstrate the height of a passionate Affection. Let her knit her Brows, refrain all manner of Pomp and Luxury; let her put on a Garb and Countenance suitable to such a violent Passion. But if Bashful and Modest, let her sit at Home, expecting her Suitors and Gallants to come and court her there. But who would not fly and abominate a Woman that professes Love for fear of making such an impudent Incontinence the first step to his future Nuptials.

When *Protagenes* had thus concluded, Do you not see, *Anthemion*, said *Daphneus*, how they make this again the common Hypothesis and Subject of Dispute, enforcing us still to continue our Discourse of Nuptial Love, who deny not our selves to be the Upholders of it; nor ever avoided the being one of that celebrated Chorus. Most certainly I do, reply'd *Anthemion*, and therefore proceed in the Defence of Conjugal Affection; and let us have also your Assistance in maintaining the Argument about Riches, with which *Pisias* chiefly seems to scare us.

'Tis

'Tis the least we can do, said my Father, for would it not be a great Reproach to Woman-kind, should we reject *Ismenodora*, because she is in Love, and wealthy to boot? But she is Nobly descended as well as Rich; what then, is she not beautiful and young? What if she be somewhat stately and haughty, by reason of her Illustrious Birth, so she live in Esteem and Reputation. If she be proud and reserv'd to others, a sober and discreet Lady, as *Ismenodora* is, will not be so to her Husband. For there is nothing of Crabbedness, nothing fowre, nothing troublesome in Women truly Chast and Modest. So that if there be any Women that value themselves upon their Chastity, and domineer over their Husbands for only that good Quality, 'tis because they are otherwise naturally morose, and that ill Quality gains them the Name of Shrews and Furies, to be commended for their Chastity and nothing else. But you'll say, since it may be a Man's Misfortune to be so hamper'd, would it not be better to marry some *Thracian Abrotonon*, or some *Milisian Bacchis* exchang'd for raw Hides, as an Assurance of her future Loyalty and Obedience; and yet we have known some Men that have been miserably Hen-peck'd by these sort of Underlings. The *Samian* Minstrels and Morrice-Dancers, such as were *Aristonica* and *Oenanthe* with her Tabor and Pipe, and *Agathoclia* insulted over the Diadems of their Sovereigns. The *Syrian Sennicamis* was a poor Wench, kept by one of *Ninus's* Slaves, partly as his Servant, partly as his Harlot, till *Ninus* meeting her, and taking a Fancy to her, at length doted upon her to that degree, that she not only govern'd him as she pleas'd her self, but contemn'd him. So that finding she had got the absolute Mastery over him, she became so bold as to desire him to do her the favour to see her sit but one Day upon his Throne, with the Royal Diadem upon her Head, dispatching the publick Business. To
which

which the King consenting, and giving order to all his Officers to yield her the same Obedience as to himself, at first she was very moderate in her Commands, to make tryal of the Guards about her, but when she saw that they obey'd her without the least Hesitation or Murmuring, she commanded them first to lay hold upon *Ninus* himself, then to bind him, at length to kill him. Which being done, she took the Government upon her self, and reign'd victoriously over all *Asia* with great Splendor and Renown; after she added several Kingdoms by Conquest to her ancient Dominions. And was not *Belestia*, a *Barbarian Curtesan*, bought in the Market, in whose Honour the *Alexandrians* erected Temples and Altars, with Inscriptions to *Venus Belestia* as Marks of the Kings Affection to her? Then for *Pbryne* also, enshrin'd in the same Temple, and honour'd with the same Solemnities as *Cupid*, and whose Statue all of beaten Gold stands among Kings and Queens; I would fain know what Dowry of hers it was, that brought so many Lovers into such Subjection to her. But as those great Men, through their Softness and Effeminacy, became a Prey to those Women, so on the other side, Men of low and mean Condition, having marry'd Women both wealthy and of splendid Extraction, neither loar'd Sail, nor abated any thing of their Courage and Greatness of Mind, but liv'd together, always honouring their Wives, and keeping that Superiority over them which was their Right and Due. But he that contracts and reduces his Wife within a narrow Compass, and makes her less, like a Ring that is too big for the Finger, to prevent it from dropping off, are like to those that dock off their Mares Tails, and clip their Mains, and then lead them to a River or Pond; for it is reported, that when those Mares perceive themselves so ill favour'dly shorn and disfigur'd, they loose their natural Courage, and will afterwards suffer

suffer themselves to be cover'd by Asses. And therefore as it is a base thing to prefer the Riches of a Woman above her Vertue or Nobility; so is it as great a Folly to reject Wealth when accompanied with Vertue and illustrious Parentage. *Antigonis* writing to a Captain of his, whom he had order'd to fortifie the little Hill *Munichia*, joyning the City of *Athens* to the Harbor, bid him not only make the Collar strong, but keep the Dog lean; intimating thereby, that he should take care to impoverish the *Athenians*. But there is no necessity for the Husband of a rich and beautiful Wife, to make her poor, or to disfigure her, but by his Reserv'dness and Prudence, and by seeming not to admire any thing particularly in her, to carry himself so that she may perceive that as he designs not to be a Tyrant; so she must not expect him to be her Subject, giving that Weight to the Ballance, that still the Scale may turn for the Good of both. Now, as for *Ismenodora*, her Years are fit for Marriage, and she is a Woman most likely to bear Children; nay, I am inform'd that she is now in her Prime, and then smiling upon *Pisias*, for, said he, she is not elder then any of her Rivals; neither has she any grey Hairs, as some that keep Company with *Baccho*. Now if those People think their Converse with the young Gentleman no way mis-becoming their Gravity; what hinders, but that she may affect and cherish him as well, if not better, then any young Virgin whatever. For I must needs say, 'tis a difficult matter many times rightly to mix and blend the Tempers and Conditions of young People; in regard it will require some time to make them sensible of several Extravagances which they may commit until they have layd aside the Pride and Wantonness which is incident to Youth, and many a blustering Tempest will happen between the new married Couple, before they can be brought to endure the Yoke, and draw quietly

quietly together ; more especially if there be any thing of Jealousie harbour'd in the Bosom of either ; for that, like the Wind, in the Absence of the Pilot, disturbs and confutes the Happiness of the Match, while the one has not skill to govern, and the other refuses to be govern'd. Now then if it be so that Nurses are sought for to look after sucking Infants, School-masters to teach Children ; if Masters of Exercise guide young Striplings ; if the Law and the Captain General governs those that are of Age, so that no Man can be said to be at his own Liberty, to do what he list, where is the Absurdity for a Wife that has Wit and Discretion, and the Advantage of years, to govern and direct the Life and Conversation of a youthful Husband ; profitable to him, as exceeding him in Wisdom, and augmenting the Pleasure of her Society, by the Sweetness of her Disposition, and Reality of Affection. To conclude, said he, we that are *Begetians* our selves, ought to reverence *Hercules*, and not to be offended with those that marry Women elder then themselves ; knowing, as we do, that even *Hercules* himself gave his own Wife *Megara*, being then three and thirty years old, to *Iolus* his Son, being no more then sixteen years of Age.

While they were in the midst of these Discourses, one of *Pisus's* Companions and Friends, as my Father reported, came galloping towards them out of the City, whip and spur, to bring the News of a strange and wonderful Accident. For *Ismenodora* believing that *Baccho* no way dislik'd his being marry'd to her, but only was deterr'd by the Importunities of his Friends, that dissuaded him from the Match, resolved not to let the young Man escape her. To this purpose she sent for certain Sparks of her acquaintance, whom she knew to be stout and resolute young Gentlemen, and some Women that were well Willers to her Amours, and observing the Hour that *Baccho* was wont to pass by her

House to the Wrestling Place, well attended and decently garbated, one day when he came near the outermost Door, anointed as he was for the Exercise, with two or three more in the same Posture, she met him in the Street, and gave a little Twitch to his upper Coat, which was the Signal given; at what time her Friends rushed forth, and fairly and softly catching him up in his Mandillion and Doublet, in a Huddle together, they carry'd him into the House, and lock'd the Doors fast after them. Then came the Women also, and pulling off his Mandillion, threw about him a costly Nuptial Garment. The Servants likewise running up and down from one Place to another, adorn'd the Posts not only of *Ismenodora's*, but of *Baccho's* House, with Laurel Boughs; and a Minstrel likewise was order'd to pipe along the Streets, as is usual at Weddings. The Story thus related, the *Thespians* and Strangers some of them laugh'd, some others were heinously offended, and did what they could to exasperate the Presidents of the Public Exercises. For they have a great Command over the young Gentlemen, and keep a severe and vigilant Eye over all their Actions. And now there was not a Word said of the Sports that were intended; but all the People forsaking the Theatre, flock'd to *Ismenodora's* House, discoursing and debating the Matter one among another. But when *Pista's* Friend, with his Horse all foaming, and in a Sweat, as he had brought Intelligence from the Army in time of War, had deliver'd his News, hardly able to speak for want of Breath, and concluded his Story with saying, *That Ismenodora had ravish'd Baccho*, my Father told me, that *Zeuxippus* fell a laughing, and as he was a great Admirer of that Poet, repeated the Verses of *Euripides*,

*Wanton with Wealth, fair Lady, thou hast done
No more then Wisdom teaches every one.*

But

But that *Pisias* starting up out of his Seat, made a great Exclamation, crying out ; O ye Gods ! what will ye put an end to this Licentiousness, that will in the end subvert our City ? For now all things are running into disorder through Violation of the Laws ; but perhaps it is now look'd upon as a slight matter to transgress the Law and violate Justice ; for even the Law of Nature is transgress'd and broken by the insolent Anarchy of the Female Sex. Was ever there any such thing committed in the Island of *Lemnos* ? Let us go, said he, let us go and deliver up the Wrestling Place, and the Council House to the Women, if the City be so effeminate as to put up these Indignities. Thus *Pisias* brake from the Company in a Fury ; nor would *Protopogenes* leave him, partly offended at what had happen'd, partly to assuage and mollifie his Friend. But *Anthemion*, 'twas a Juvenile bold Attempt, said he, and truly *Lemnian*. for we know that the Lady was warmly in Love. To whom *Soclarnis* smiling, Do you then believe said he, that this was a real Ravishment and Force, and not rather a Stratagem of the young Man's own Contrivance (for he has Wit at will) to the end he might escape out of the Hands of his ruder Male Lovers, into the Embraces of a fair and rich Widow ? Never say so, said *Anthemion*, nor have such a Suspicion of *Baccho*. For were he not naturally, as he is of a plain and open Temper, he would never have conceal'd this thing from me, to whom he has always imparted his Secrets, and whom he knew to be always a Favourer of *Ismenodora's* Design. For according to the saying of *Heraclitus*, it is a harder matter to withstand Love than Anger. For whatever it has a Desire to, it will purchase with the Hazard of Life, Fortune and Reputation. Now where is there a more accomplish'd Woman in all our City than *Ismenodora* ? When did you ever hear an ill Word spoken of her ? Or when did ever a

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ny thing done in her House, gave the least Suspicion of an ill Act? Rather we may say, that she seems to be inspir'd beyond other Women with something above Human Reason. Then *Pemptides* smiling, Truly, said he, there is a certain Disease of the Body, which they call *Sacred*: So that it is no wonder, if some Men give the Appellation of Sacred and Divine, to the most raging and vehement Passion of the Mind. But as in *Ægypt*, once I saw two Neighbours hotly contending about a Serpent which crept before them in the Road, while both concluded it to be good Luck, and each assum'd the happy Omen to himself; so seeing some of you at this time haling Love into the Chambers of the Men, others into the Cabinets of the Women, as a Divinely transcending Good; I do not wonder, since it is a Passion so powerful, and greatly esteem'd, that it be magnify'd, and held in greatest Veneration by those that have most reason to clip its Wings, and expel and drive it from them. Hitherto therefore I have been silent, perceiving the Debate to be rather about a particular Concern, then any thing for the Publick Good. But now that *Pisias* is gone, I would willingly understand from one of you, upon what accompt it was, that they who first discours'd of Love, were so fond to deify it? So soon as *Pemptides* had done, and that my Father was about to say something in answer to his Question, another Messenger came from the City, in *Ismenodora's* name, requesting *Anthemion* to come to her: for that the Tumult increased, and the Presidents of the Games could not agree, while one was of Opinion that *Baccho* was to be demanded and delivered up into their Hands, and the other thought it an Impertinence to meddle with that which nothing concern'd them.

Thus *Anthemion* being gone, my Father address'd himself to *Pemptides* by name, and so entring into the following Discourse, You seem to Me, Sir said he, to have hit
upon

upon a very strange and nice point, or rather as I may so say, to have endeavour'd to stir things which are not to be mov'd, in reference to the Opinion which we have of the Gods, while you demand a Reason and Demonstration of every thing in particular. For it is sufficient to believe according to the Faith of our Forefathers, and the Instructions of the Country where we have been bred and born, then which we cannot utter or invent a more certain Argument,

*For surely all the Wit of human Brain,
This part of Knowledge never could attain.*

For this is a Foundation and Basis common to all Piety and Religion; of which if once the steady Rule and decreed Maxims be once disordered and shaken, all the rest must rotter and become suspected. And no question but you have heard in what a confusion of thought Euripides was, and how it perplexed him to begin his *Menalippe*.

——— *Jupiter, if his Name be so,
For 'tis by hear-say only what I know.*

Where he seems to have a Confidence in the Lofty Stile and Elaborate Eloquence of his Tragedy, to venture the Indignation of the Deity; but finding he had drawn upon himself the Envy of another Adversary, the Multitude, he altered the Verse.

*Jove, for we own he has received that Name
From Truth alone, and not from common Fame.*

What difference then is there between calling in question the Name of *Jupiter* or *Minerva*, and doubting of the Name of *Cupid*, or *Love*? For it is not of late that *Cupid* or *Love* has challeng'd Altars and Sacrifices, neither is he a Foreigner started up out of any Barbarian Superstition as were the *Atte*, and the *Adonai*, introduced

duc'd by I know not what sort of *Hermophrodites* and idle Women. Nor has he clandestinely crept into Honours no way becoming him to avoid the accusation of Bastardy, and being unduly enroll'd in the Catalogue of the Gods. But when you hear *Empedocles* thus saying,

*In Friendship too, observe my Song,
There is both equal Broad and Long;
But this thou must not think to find
With Eyes of Body but of Mind.*

You ought to believe all this to be said of Love. For that Love, no more then any of the rest of the ancient Deities, is visible, but apprehended only by Opinion and Belief. For every one of which if you require a reason and demonstrative Argument, by enquiring after every Temple, and making a Sophistical doubt upon every Altar, you shall find nothing free from Calumny and malicious Slander. For that I may go on farther, observe but these,

*I do not Venus see with Mortal Eyes,
The Goddess unto whom we Sacrifice;
Yet this is she that mighty Cupid bare,
Whose Offspring all Terrestrial Beings are.*

Therefore *Empedocles* giving her the Epithite of *Ζειδωρε*, or the Giver of Life: And *Sophocles* calls her *Ευκαρπην* or Fruitful: both very aptly and pertinently. For indeed the great and wonderful Work of generation is properly the Work of *Venus*, where Love is only an Assistant, when present with *Venus*: but whose absence renders the act it self altogether irksom, dishonourable, harsh and ungrateful. For the Conjunction of Man and Woman without true Affection, like hunger and thirst, that terminate in Satiety, produces nothing truly noble or commendable, unless the Goddess separating from Love
the

the glut of Pleasure, perpetuate Delight by a continual supply of friendship and harmony of Temper. Therefore *Parmenides* asserts Love to be the most ancient of all the Works of *Venus*,

*Of all the Gods that rule above
She first brought forth the mighty Love.*

But *Hesiod*, in my Opinion, seems more Philosophically to make Love the Eldest of all the Gods, as from whom all the other Deities derive their beginning. Therefore should we deprive Love of the Honours which are decreed him, neither will the Ceremonies ascrib'd to *Venus* be any longer in request. For it is not sufficient to say, that some Men reproach Love and load him with Contumelies, but abstain from giving her an ill word. For upon the same Theatre we hear these Scandals fix'd upon both ;

*Love Idle of himself, takes up his rest,
And harbours only in the sloathful breast,*

And in another place thus upon *Venus*;

*She does not th' only name of Cypris own,
But by a hundred other names is known ;
She's Hell on Earth, continu'd Violence,
And Rage subduing all the force of Sence.*

As indeed we may say of the rest of the Gods, that there is not one that has escap'd the scandalous jibes of illiterate *Atheism*. Look upon *Mars*, as in a Brazen Sculpture possessing the Place just opposite to Love, how highly has he been honoured, how lowly degraded by Men ?

*Swine-snouted Mars, and as a Beetle blind,
'Tis he, fair Dames, disorders all Mankind.*

Homer also gives him the Epithite of *μαυροδόντος* or *contaminated with Murder*; and of *ἀλλοπερὶ σάμας*, or *Jack a-both sides*. Moreover *Chrysippus* explaining the name of the Deity, fixes a villanous accusation upon him. For says he, *Ares* is derived from *ἀνερπύς*, which signifies to Murder and destroy: thereby affording an occasion for some to give the Name of *Ares* or *Mars*, to that same proneness and perversè Inclination in Men to Wrath and Passion, and to quarrel and fight one with another. Others affirm *Venus* to be nothing but our Concupiscence: that *Mercury* is no more then the faculty of Speech, that the *Muses* are only the Names for the Arts and Sciences; and that *Minerva* is only a fine word for Prudence. And thus you see into what an Abyss of Atheism we are likely to plunge our selves, while we go about to set up the Passions, Faculties and Vertues of Men for so many Gods. I plainly perceive it, reply'd *Pemptides*; for I neither believe it lawful to make the Gods to be Passions, nor on the other side, to make the Passions to be Deities. To whom my Father, Well then, said he, do you believe *Mars* to be a God, or a Passion of ours? To which when *Pemptides* reply'd, that he thought *Mars* to be the Deity that rectify'd the Angry and Couragious part of Man; my Father presently retorting upon him, Why then, said he, shall our passionate Part, and those wrathful Inclinations within us that provoke us to mischief and bloodshed, have a Deity to over-rule and govern them, and will you not allow the same Guardianship over our better propensities to Love, Friendship, Society and Peace? There is a Deity that presides and has the super-intendence over those that kill and are slain; a Deity that bears rule in matters of Arms, all Warlike Preparations, Assaults of Citys, Depredations of Countries, &c. And distributes rewards as he sees occasion; and shall there be no Deity to be a Witness and Overseer, a Supream Go-

Governour and Director of Conjugal Affection which terminates in Concord and happy Society? Nay we find that they who make it their sport to Hunt Wild Goats, Hares and Deer are not without their Forest Deity to incourage them; and they that make it their business to Trapan Wolves and Bears into Snares and Pit-falls, Pray for good luck to *Aristæus*,

*Who first of all for the Wild Beast of Prey,
With Gins and Snares in secret Ambush lay.*

Hercules having also bent his Bow, before he let fly at the Bird which he intended to hit, invoc'd another Deity, as we find in *Eschylus*;

*Hunter Apollo, and to Hunter's kind
Direct this Arrow to the Mark design'd.*

But for Men that Hunt the most Noble Game of Love and Friendship, there is not so much as one *Dæmon* to assist and prosper so laudable an enterprize. Truly, *Daphneus* for my part I cannot believe a Man to be a more inconsiderable Plant then an Oak, or Mulbury-Tree, or the Vine, which *Homer* calls by the Name of *Hemeris*; considering that Man in his due season also is endu'd with a Powerful Faculty to bud, and pleasantly put forth the Beautys both of his Body and Mind. To whom *Daphneus*, In the Name of all the Gods, who ever thought otherwise? All those most certainly, reply'd my Father, who believing the care of Plowing, Sowing and Planting, is an Employment becoming the Gods: to which purpose they have also certain Nymphs attending them, who are call'd *Druids*, and live just as long as the Trees, of which they take care; Or as *Pindarus* Sings,

*God Bacchus, He
That is the Chast Autumnal Light,
Whose Influences warm and Bright
Give nourishment to every fruitful Tree.*

And

And yet will not allow the nourishment and growth of Children and Young People, who in the flower of their Age are to be form'd and shap'd into several varieties of Beauty, to be under the care and tuition of any Deity: or that there is any Divinity to take care, that Man being once born may be guided and conducted in the true Paths of Vertue, and to prevent the tender Plant from being bow'd and bent the wrong way for want of a good Instructor, or by the deprav'd conversation of those with whom he lives. For my part, I look upon it as a heinous peice of Indignity and Ingratitude, and as it were a driving of the Deity from his love to Mankind, which he is ready to dispeirce and diffuse over all, and willingly never abandons the distressed and necessitics of Mortals: Of which there are some that cannot be avoided, though not so pleasing to endure. Thus our being delivered from the Mothers Womb, is no such delightful thing, as being attended with Pain and Issues of Blood, and yet there is a Celestial Midwife and Overseer that takes particular care of that necessity, which is *Lucina*. And indeed a Man had better never be born, then to be made bad and wicked for want of a good Tutor and Guardian. Nay, we find that the divine Power does not desert us in our Sicknes, nor after we are dead; there being still some Deity or other, who claims some certain peculiar Employment or Function, even upon those occasions. Among the rest there is one that helps to convey the Souls of such as have ended this Life into the other World, and lays them asleep, like the Eunuch that is appointed to usher in the Bride into her *Bed-Chamber*; for which reason *Mercury* is called by the name of *Ψυχοναυτης*, or the Soul conductor. According to this of the Poet,

*For shady night nere brought me forth to play
With Artful touch upon the tuneful Lyre,*

Ner

*Nor to be Mistress of Prophetic Fire ;
Nor pains of rude Distempers to allay ;
But to convey the Souls of the Deceast
Each one to their appointed Place of rest.*

Nevertheless these Ministerial functions have many difficulties and troubles which attend them ; whereas we cannot imagine any Employment more holy, and Exercise more sacred, nor any Contention for Prize and Glory more becoming a Deity, then to direct and assist the lawful endeavours and pursuits of Lovers in their prime of Years and Beauty. There is nothing dishonorable, nothing of forc'd necessity in this, but gentle perswasion and alluring Grace, rendring labour delightful, as leading to Vertue and Friendship, and which never attains the true accomplishment of the end it aims at without some divine assistance ; nor can have any other Conductor and Master then *Cupid* himself, who is the Friend and Companion of the *Muses* the *Graces* and *Venus* his own Mother. For according to *Melannippides*,

*Great Love it is that in the heart of Man
Sows the sweet Harvest of unstain'd desire ;
Which once grown ripe, true Lovers reap again,
Withlasting joys to feed the pleasing fire.*

What do you say, *Zeuxippus*, can we believe it to be otherwise ? In truth, I judge it so, rep'y'd *Zeuxippus*, and I think it would be absurd to affirm the contrary. And would it not be absurd indeed, said my Father, since there are four sorts of Frindship, according to the determination of the Ancients ? The first, say they, is Natural ; the next is that of Kindred and Relations ; the third is that of Friends and Acquaintance, and last is that of Lovers. Three of these have their several Tutelar Deities, under the Names of *φιλία*, the Patron of Friendship, *ξενία*, the Patron of Hospitality ; and *ἀγάπη*

ἑμὸν γυνῆ or παῖσιν, who knits Affection, between those of the same Country. Only amorous Affection, as if it were unhollowed and under interdiction, they leave without any *Guardian* or *Protector*, which indeed requires the greatest Care and Government above all the rest. All that you say, reply'd *Zeuxippus*, is undeniable.

By the way, reply'd my Father, we may here take notice of what *Plato* discourses upon this Subject. For he says, that there is a certain Madness transmitted from the Body to the Soul, proceeding from a malignant Mixture of ill Humors, or a noxious Vapor, or rather pernicious Spirit that possesses the Heart; which Madness is a rugged and terrible Disease. The other is a kind of Fury, partaking something of Divine Inspiration; neither is it engender'd within, but is an Insufflation from without, and a disturbance of the Rational and Considerative Faculty, deriving its Beginning and Motion from some stronger Power; the common Affection of which is call'd the enthusiastic Passion. For as *Ἐμπνευ* or Inspiration signifies *fill'd with Wind*; and *Ἐνθεον* denotes *repleat with Prudence*, so this commotion of the Soul is call'd *Enthusiasm*, by reason it participates of a more Divine Power. Now the Prophetic Part of *Enthusiasm*, derives it self from the Inspiration of *Apollo*, possessing the Intellect of the Sooth-sayer; but *Bacchanal* Fury proceeds from Father *Liber*,

And with the Corybantes ye shall dance.

Says *Sophocles*. For as for the Extravagances of the Priests of *Cybele*, the Mother of the Gods, and those which are call'd Panic Terrors and Ejaculations, they are all of the same Nature with the *Bacchanal Orgies*. There is also a third sort of *Enthusiasm*, which is proper to the Muses, which possessing an even temper'd and placid Soul, excites and rouses up the Gifts of Poetry and Music. But as for that same Warlike Fury which

is call'd *Arimanian*, it is well known to descend from *Mars* the God of War; a sort of Fury, wherein there is no Grace nor Musical Sweetness, destructive altogether to Generation, and rousing up the People to Discord and Tumult.

There remains yet one sort more of Alienation of the Understanding in Man, the same neither obscure, nor yet altogether calm and quiet. Concerning which, I would fain ask *Pemptides*,

*Which of the Gods it is that shakes the Spear,
That beareth Fruit so lovely and so fair.*

But without expecting a Resolution of this Question, I mean that *Erotic* Fury that possesses lovely Youths and Chast Women; yet a most hot and vehement Transport. For do we not see how the Warrior lays down his Arms, and submits to this more prevalent Rage?

*With that,
His Grooms o'rejoy'd he had the War forsook,
His ponderous Arms from off his Shoulders took,*

And thus having renounc'd the Hazards of Battle, he sits down a quiet Spectator of other Mens Dangers. But as for these *Bacchanalian* Motions, and Frisking of the *Corybantes*, there is a way to allay those extravagant Transports, by changing the Measure from the *Trochaic* to the *Spondaic*, and the Tone from the *Phrygian* to the *Doric*; and the *Pythian* Prophetess, descending from her *Tripod*, and quitting the Prophetic Exhalation, becomes sedate and calm again. Whereas the Fury of Love, where ever it seizes either Man or Woman, it sets them in a Flame; no Music, no appeasing Incantations, no change of Places are able to quench or put a Stop to it; but, being in Presence, being absent, they desire; by Day they prosecute
their

their Importunate Visits; by Night they serenade at the Windows: Sober, they are continually calling upon their Mistresses, and when they are Fuddl'd, are always teasing the Company with their Love Songs and Madrigals. Neither, as one was pleas'd to say, are Poetical Fancies, by reason of their lively Expressions, the Dreams of those that wake. But rather the Dialogues of Persons enamor'd, discounting with their absent Mistresses, as if they were present; and Dallying, Embracing and Expostulating with them, as if they were in Place. For the sight seems to delineate other Fancies in the Water, that quickly glide away, and slip out of the Mind: Whereas the Imaginations of Lovers being, as it were, enamell'd by Fire, leave the Images of things imprinted in the Memory, moving, living, speaking and remaining for a long time. So that *Cato the Roman* was wont to say, that the Soul of a Lover resided and dwelt in the Soul of the Person belov'd. For that there is settl'd and fix'd in the one, the Form, Shape, Manners, Conversation and Actions of the other; by the swift Motion of which, he dispatches and rides a great deal of Ground, as the *Synics*, or as others will have it, the *Comedians* say, in a short time; and finds a more compendious and direct Road to Vertue; and he is carry'd from Love to Friendship, as it were, with Wind and Tide, the God of Love assisting his Passion. In short then I say, that the *Enthusiasm* of Lovers, is neither void of Divine Inspiration, neither is it under the Guardianship and Conduct of any other Deity, but he whose Festivals we solemnize, and to whom we offer our Oblations. Nevertheless, in regard we measure the Excellency of a Deity by his Puissance, and the Benefit which we receive at his Hands, and esteem Power and Vertue to be the two cheifest and most Divine of all Human Blessings, it may not be unseasonable to consider, whether
Love

Love be inferior in Power to any other of the Gods.
For according to *Sophocles*,

*Great is the Puissance of the Cyprian Queen,
And great the Honour which her Triumphs win.*

Great is also the Dominion of *Mars*, and indeed we see the Power of all the rest of the Gods, divided in some Measure into two sorts; the one Familiarly alluring to Vertue and Honesty; the other, which consists in the Resistance of Evil, and which is originally bred in the Soul. As *Plato* observes in his Description of Forms.

Now then let us consider, the Venereal Delight is a thing that is purchas'd many times for a small matter of Money, and that there is no Man that ever underwent any Pain or Danger for the sake of Venereal Enjoyments, unless he were inflam'd and tormented with the burning Fires of an ardent Lust; insomuch, that not to mention such Curtesans as either *Phryne* or *Lais*, we find that the Harlot *Gnathemon*,

*By gloomy Lanthorn-Light, at Evening late,
Waiting and calling for some Triggermate,*

Is often pass'd by and Neglected.

*But then if once some Spirit blew the Fire,
kindl'd by Love's extream and warm Desire,*

This makes the Pleasure equally esteem'd and valu'd to the Treasures of *Tantalus*, and all his vast Dominions. So faint and so soon cloy'd is Venereal Desire, unless rendred grateful by the Charms and Inspiration of Love. Which is more evidently confirm'd by this; for that many Men admit others to partake of their Venereal Pleasures, prostituting not only their Mistresses and Concubines, but also their own Wives, to the Embraces of their Friends; as it is reported of the *Roman*
Kalbas

Kalbas or *Galba*, who inviting *Mecænas* to his House, and perceiving him winking and nodding upon his Wife, turn'd away his Head upon his Pillow, as if he had been asleep; yet at the same time, when one of the Servants came creeping out of the next Room, to steal a Bottle of Wine from the Cub-board, presently turning about, with his Eyes open, *Varlet*, said he, 'tis only to pleasure *Mecænas*, that I sleep.

At *Argos*, there was a great Animosity between *Nicostratus* and *Faulius*, so that they always oppos'd each other, and quarrel'd at the Council Board. Now it being known that King *Philip* intended a Visit to that City, *Faulius* bethought himself that he could not miss the highest Preferment the Government could afford, if he could but oblige the King with the Company of his Wife, who was both Beautiful and Young. *Nicostratus* smelling this Design, set some of his Servants to walk too and fro before *Faulius's* House, and observe who went in and out; where they had not stay'd long but out came *Nicostratus's* Wife, in high Shoes, with a Mantle and Cap, after the *Macedonian* Fashion, account'd like one of the King's Pages, accompany'd by two or three more, that carry'd her directly to the Kings Court. Since then there ever were, and still are too many Lovers of this Temper, did you ever know of any one that ever prostituted his particular Male Friend, though it were to gain the Honours ascrib'd to *Jupiter* himself? Truly, I never believe there ever was any such. For why? there never was any one that would pretend to oppose and contend with a Tyrant; but there are many Rivals and Competitors that will quarrel and fight for Boys that are Beautiful, and in the Prime of their Years. It is reported of *Aristogiton* the *Athenian*, and *Menalippus* of *Agrigentum*, that they never contested with Tyrants, though they wasted and ruin'd the Common-wealth, and indulg'd the Impetuosity

petuosity of their Lust; but when they found them attempting their Male Amours, they withstood them with the utmost Peril of their Lives, as if they had been to defend their Temples, and their most Sacred Sanctuaries. *Alexander* also is said to have sent to *Theodorus*, the Brother of *Proteus*, in these Words: *send me that Musical Girl that Plays and Sings so well, and take ten Talents for her, unless thou lov'st her thy self.* Another time, when one of his Minions, *Antipatridas* came to be Jovial with him, and brought a Minstrel in his Company to compleat their Mirth, the Prince being greatly affected with the Girls Playing and Singing, ask'd *Antipatridas*, *Whether he had any extraordinary Kindness for her?* Who answering, *That he lov'd her as his Eyes.* Then all the Plagues of Mankind light upon thee, quoth the Prince: however he would not so much as touch the Girl. Consider also what vast Power Love has also over Martial Men and Warriours. Not as *Euripides* will have it to be,

*Not slothful, neither out of Womens Fear
Still shifing from the dang'rous Toils of War.*

For a Man that is once inflam'd with Love, wants not *Mars* himself to be his Second, when he is to engage with his Enemies; but confiding in the Deity that is within him,

*Ventures through Fire and Seas, and blustering Storms,
While Love of Friend his daring Courage warms.*

And breaks through all Opposition, if his Mistress require any Proof of his Valour. Therefore we read in *Sophocles*, that the Daughters of *Niobe* being wounded with Arrows to Death, one of them, as she lay wollowing in Blood, calls out for no other Help or Succor to assist her in her Revenge, but her Lover.

*Where is my Love ? she cry'd,
 'Were I but arm'd with that ;
 I yet would be reveng'd
 For my untimely Fate.*

You know the Reason why *Cleomachus* the *Pharsalian*, fell in Battle. *I am a Stranger to the Story*, reply'd *Pemp-tides*, and would willingly therefore hear it. Certainly 'tis very well worth your Knowledge, said my Father.

In the heat of the War between the *Chalcidians* and the *Eretrians*, *Cleomachus* went to aid the *Chalcidians* ; at what time it was evident that the *Chalcidians* were the stronger in Foot, but they found it a difficult thing to withstand the Force of the Enemies Horse. Thereupon they requested *Cleomachus*, being their Confederate, and a Man signaliz'd for his Courage, to give the first Onset upon the Enemies Cavalry. Presently the Youth, whom he most intirely lov'd, being present, he ask'd him, *Whether he would stay and be a Spectator of the Combat ?* To which, when the Lad gave his Consent, and after many tender Kisses and Embraces, had put on his Helmet, *Cleomachus*, his Love redoubling his Courage, and being surrounded with some few of the Flower of the *Thessalian* Horse, charg'd into the thickest of the Enemy, and put them to the Rout ; which the heavy-arm'd Infantry seeing, betook themselves also to Flight, so that the *Chalcidians* obtain'd a Noble Victory ; however *Cleomachus* was there slain, and the *Chalcidians* shew his Monument erected in the Market Place with a fair Pillar standing upon it to this Day ; and whereas they abominated *Pederastie* before, after that, they admir'd and affected it above all other Pleasures. Nevertheless, *Aristotle* tells us, that *Cleomachus* indeed lost his Life after the Victorious Battle which he gain'd from the *Eretrians* ; but as for that *Cleomachus*, who was thus kiss'd by his Male Concubine, he was of *Chalcis* in *Thrace*, and sent to aid

aid the *Chalcidians* in *Eubæa*. Which is the reason of that same *Ballad* which is generally sung among them:

*Fair Youths, whose happy Mothers brought ye forth,
Lovely in Form, and Noble for your Birth;
Envy not Men of Courage, prompt in Arms,
The kind Fruition of your tempting Charms.
For softest Love and daring Valor reigns,
With equal Honour through Chalcidian Plains,*

Dionysius the Poet, in his Poem, entitl'd *Question*, informs us, that the Name of the Lover was *Anton*, and that the Youth belov'd was call'd *Philistus*. And is it not a Custom among us *Thebans*, for the Lover to present the Beloved with a compleat Suit of Armor, with their own Names inscrib'd on it; as *Artidas* presented his Minion. And *Pammenes*, a very great Souldier, but very amorously given, quite alter'd the Method of embatteling the heavy-arm'd Infantry, and blames *Homer*, as one that knew not what belong'd to Love, for marshalling the several Divisions of the *Acheans*, according to their Tribes and Wards, and not placing the Lover by his Beloved. For then the Description which he gives of their *Close-Order*, would have been the Consequence of his Skill and Marshal Discipline, where he says,

*Man ferry'd close to Man, in dangerous Field,
While Morriions Morriions touch'd, and Shield to Shield.*

The only way to render a Battalion invincible. For Men will desert those of the same Tribe or Family; nay, before *George*, their very Children and Parents; but never any Enemy could pierce or penetrate between a Lover and his Darling Minion, in whose Sight, many times, when there is no necessity, the Lover delights to shew his Courage and Contempt of Danger; like *Thero* the *Thessalian*, who clapping his Left hand to the

Wall, and then drawing his Sword, struck of his Thumb, thereby challenging his Rival to do the same. Or like another, who falling in Battle upon his Face, as his Enemy was about to follow his Blow, desir'd him to stay till he could turn, lest his Male Concubine should see that he had been wounded in the Back. And therefore we find that the most Warlike of Nations, are most addicted to Love, as the *Baotians*, *Lacedemonians* and *Cretans*: and among the most ancient *Hero's*, none more amorous then *Meleager*, *Achilles*, *Aristomenes*, *Cimon* and *Epaminondas*, the latter of which, had for his Male Concubines, *Asopicus* and *Caphisodorus*, who was slain with him at the Battle of *Mantineia*, and lyes buried very near him: whose Love, because it had render'd him more fierce and daring, and consequently more terrible to the Enemy, therefore *Eucnamus* the *Amphissian*, that first made head against him and slew him, had *Heroic Honours* pay'd him by the *Phocensians*. It would be a Task too great to enumerate the Amours of *Hercules*; but among the rest, *Iolaus* is honour'd and ador'd to this Day by many, because he is thought to have been the Darling of that Hero; and upon his Tomb it is that Lovers plight their Troths, and make reciprocal Vows of their Affection. Moreover, *Apollo* being skill'd in Physic, is said to have recover'd *Alceſtis* from Deaths Door, in Kindness to *Admetus*, who, as he had a great Love for his Wife, so had the Deity as great a Passion for him. For it is said of *Apollo*, that doting upon *Admetus*, he became his Servant for a whole year. And here methinks we have very opportunely mention'd *Altheſtis*: For although the Temper of Women has little to do with *Mars*, love many times drives them to daring Attempts beyond their own Nature, even to lay violent Hands upon themselves. And if there be any Credit to be given to the Fables of the Poets, the Stories of *Alceſtis*, *Proteſilaus* and *Euridice*, the Wife of *Orpheus*,

Orpheus, plainly 'evince us, that *Pluto* himself obeys no other God but Love. For as *Sophocles* says,

*To others, be their Fame or Birth whate're,
Nor Equity, nor Favour will be show;
But rig'rous, and without Remorse severe,
His downright Justice only makes them know.*

But to Lovers he pays a Reverence; to them alone, neither implacable nor inexorable. And therefore it is a very good thing to be initiated into the *Eleusinian* Ceremonies; but I find the Condition of those much better in Hell, who are admitted into the Mysteries of Love; which I speak, as one that neither altogether confide in Fables, nor altogether mis-believe them. For they speak a great deal of Sence, and many times by a certain Kind of Divine good Hap, hit upon the Truth, when they say that Lovers are permitted to return from Hell to Sun-light again; but which way, and how, they know not; as wandering from the right Path, which *Plato*, first of all Men, by the Assistance of Philosophy, found out. For there are several slender and obscure dimanations of Truth dispier'd among the Mithologies of the *Egyptians*; only they want an acute and experienc'd Tracer, to find out greater Mysteries by hunting small things *Dry-foor*. And therefore let'em go.

And now since we find the Power of Love to be so great, let us take a little Notice of that which we call the Benevolence and Favour of it towards Men. Not whether it confers many Benefits upon those that are addicted to it, for that's a thing apparent to all Men; but whether the Blessings that Men receive by it, are more and greater then any other. And her *Euripides*, notwithstanding that he was a Person so amorous as he was, admires the meanest gift it has; for says he,

*Love into Men Poetic fire infuses,
Though ne're before acquainted with the Muses.*

For he might as well have said, that Love makes a Man Wise and Prudent, that was a Fool and Sortish before ; or a Coward bold and daring ; or a Stout and courageous Man a dastard and pusillanimous ; as when we heat Wooden Poles in the fire to soft and bend 'em to make them strong and streight. In like manner he that was a sordid Miser before, falling once in Love, becomes liberal and lofty minded ; his covetous and pinching humor being mollified by Love, like Iron in the Fire, so that he is more pleas'd with being liberal to the Objects of his Love, then before delighted to receive from others. For ye all know how *Anytus*, the Son of *Anthemion* fell in Love with *Alcibiades* ; who understanding that *Anytus* had invited several of his Friends to a noble and splendid Banquet, came into the Room in Masquerade, and going to the Table, after he had taken one half of the Silver Cups and other Plate, went his way. Which when some of the Guests took very ill, and told *Anytus* that the young Lad had demeaned himself very rudely and saucily. Not so, said *Anytus*, but very civilly, since when it was in his power to have taken all the rest, he was so civil as to leave me some. Pleased with this story, O *Hercules*, quo *Zen-xippus*, how have ye almost ras'd out of my Mind, that Hereditary Hatred which I had conceiv'd against *Anytus*, for his ill opinion of *Socrates* and Philosophy, since he was become so gentle and generous in his Amours. Be it so said my Father, but let us proceed, Love is of that nature, that it renders those that were severe and morose before, both affable and pleasant in their Humor. For as,

*The burning Tapers make the House more light,
And all things look more glorious to the sight.*

So the Heat of Love renders the Soul of Man more lively and cheerful. But there are many who go quite contrary

contrary to reason in this particular. For when they behold a glittering Light in a House by Night they admire, and look upon it as something Cœlestial; but when they see a narrow pitiful, abject soul, of a sudden replenish'd with Understanding, Generosity, Sence of Honour, Courtesie and Liberality, they do not believe themselves constrain'd to say as *Telemachus* in *Homer*,

Surely some God within this House resides.

For the Love of the Graces tell me, said *Daphneus*, is it not a thing altogether as much favouring of Divinity, that a Man who contemns all other things, not only his Friends and Familiar acquaintance, but also the Laws, the Magistrates; even Kings, and Princes themselves; who fears nothing, is astonish'd at nothing, cares for nothing, but thinks himself able to fight an Army, so soon as he beholds the object of his burning Love,

*As dunghill Cravens, and with sudden Blow,
Hang their loose Wings with little list to Crow,*

Should presently lose all his prowess, and that all his Bravery should fail him as if his heart were quite sunk to the bottom of his Belly? Remarkable therefore is that recorded by *Sapho* among the *Muses*. For the *Romans* report in their Storys, that *Cacus* the Son of *Vulcan* vomited Fire and Flames out of his Mouth. And indeed *Sapho* speaks, as if her words were mixt with fire, and by her Verses plainly discovers the violent heat of her Heart,

According to that of *Philoxenus*,

*Seeking for Cure of Love-inflicted wounds
From Pleasing Numbers and Melodious sound.*

And here, *Daphneus*, if the Love of *Lyfander*, have not buried in oblivion your former sportive Dalliances, I would desire ye to call to mind and oblige us with the repetition of those Elegant Raptures of *Sappho*, wherein she tells us, how that when the Person beloved by her appear'd, her speech forsook her, her Body was all over in a cold Sweat; how she grew pale and wan, and was surpriz'd with a suddain trembling and diziness. To this *Daphneus* consented, and so soon as he had concluded, said my Father, So *Jupiter* help me, is not this an apparent seizure of something more then Human upon the Soul? Can this be other then some Celestial rapture of the Mind? what do we find equal to it in the *Pythian* Prophets, when she sits upon the *Tripes*? Where do we find that the Flutes which are used in the *Bacchanalian Orgies*, or the *Tabor*s play'd upon in the Ceremonies of the Mother of the Gods, rouse up such noble Transports among that fanatic sort of Enthusiasts? Many there are that behold the same Body and the same Beauty, but the Lover only admires and is ravish'd with it. And what's the reason, d'ye think! For we do not perceive or understand it, when *Menander* shews it us;

'Tis the Occasion that infects the Heart,
For only he that's wounded feels the Smart.

Now 'tis the God of Love that gives the Occasion, seizing upon some, and letting others go free. What therefore had been more seasonable for me to have spoken before, since it is now chop'd into my Mouth, as *Aeschilus* says, I think it is my best way to let it go, as being a Matter of great Importance. For it may be, my dear Friend, there is not any thing in the World which was not perceptible by Sense; but what gain'd Credit and Authority at the first, either from Fables, or from the Law, or else from rational Discourse.

course. And therefore Poets, Law-givers, and in the third place, Philosophers, were all along the first that instructed and confirm'd us in our Opinions of the Gods. For all agree that there are Gods; but concerning their Number, their Order, their Essence and Power, they vastly differ one among another. For the Philosophers Deities are subject neither to Age nor Diseases, neither do undergo any Labour or Pain,

*Exempted from the Noise and Hurry,
Of busie Acherontic Ferry.*

And therefore they will not admit the Poetical *Erides* and *Litai*, or *Numen's* of *Contention* and *Pacification*; nor will they acknowledge Fear and Terror to be the *Sons of Mars*. They also differ from the Law-givers in many things. Thus *Zenophanes* forbid the *Aegyptians* to worship *Osiris* as a God, if they thought him to be Mortal, and if they thought him to be a God, not to bewail him. Then again, the Poets and Law-givers vary from the Philosophers, and will not so much as hear them, while they Deifie certain Ideas, Numbers, Unites and Spirits; such is the wild Variety, and vast Difference of Opinions among these sort of People. Therefore as there were at *Athens* the three Factions of the *Parati*, *Epacri* and *Pediei*, that could never agree, but were always at variance one with another; yet when they were assembled, gave their Suffrages unanimously for *Solon*, and chose him with one Consent for their Peace-maker, Governour and Law-giver, as to whom the highest Reward of Vertue was beyond all doubt or question due; so the three different Sects or Factions in reference to the Gods, in giving their Opinions, some for one, and some for another, as being by no means willing to subscribe one to another, are all positive in their Consent as to the God of Love: Him, the most famous of the Philosophers, and the numerous Acclamations of
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the Philosophers and Law-givers have enroll'd in the Catalogue of the Gods, with loud Praises and Panegyrics. And as *Alcæus* says, that the *Mitylenians* unanimously chose *Pittacus* for their Prince; so *Hesiod*, *Plato* and *Solen*, bring forth *Cupid* out of *Helicon*, and conduct him in Pomp and State into the Academy to be our King, Governour and Director, hamper'd with all the Yokes and Fetters of Friendship and Society; not as *Euripides* says.

With Fetters bound, but not of Brass, God knows, as if the Bonds of Love were only the cold and ponderous Chains of Necessity, made use of as a colorable Pretence to excuse and qualifie Shame; and not such as are carryed upon winged Chariots to the most lovely and Celstial Objects in this World, concerning which, there has been much more said by others.

After my Father had thus diliver'd himself; Do ye not perceive, said *Soclarus*, how, being fallen a second time into the same Matter, you have as it were by force constrain'd your self to this Divination, unjustly to deprive us, if I may speak what I think, of that same Sacred Discourse which you were entring into? For as before, you gave us a Hint concerning *Plato* and the *Ægyptians*, but pass'd them over as if it had been done against your Will, so you do now again. 'Tis true, that as for those things which *Plato*, or rather the *Moses*, have deliver'd in *Plato's* Writings, I do not believe you would put your self to the trouble to say any thing more although we should request it. But whereas you have obscurly hinted that the Fables of the *Ægyptians* accord with *Plato's* Opinion concernig Love, we know you have a greater Kindness for us then to conceal your Knowledge from us; and though it be but a little of those important Matters, it shall suffice us. Thereupon the rest of the Company declaring their Readiness to give attention, my Father thus began.

The

The *Egyptians*, said he, also the *Grecians*, set up two Deities of Love; the one Vulgar, the other Celestial; to which they add a third, which they believe to be the Sun; and as for *Venus*, they pay her a very great Veneration. We our selves also do find that there is a great Affinity and Resemblance between the Sun and the God of Love. For neither of them are material Fire, as some conjecture. All that we can acknowledge is only this, that there is a certain soft and generative Heat and Warmth proceeding from the Sun, which affords to the Body Nourishment, Light and Relaxation of Cold: Whereas that Warmth which comes from the other, works the same Effects in the Soul. And as the Sun breaking forth from the Clouds, and after a thick Fog is much hotter; so Love, after the Passionate Anger and Jealousies of the Party belov'd upon Reconciliation of both Parties, are over, grows more delightful and fervent. Moreover as some believe the Sun to be kindl'd and extinguish'd, they also imagine the same things concerning Love, as being mortal and unstable. For neither can a Constitution, not enur'd to Exercise, endure the Sun, nor the Disposition of an illiterate and ill tutor'd Soul, brook Love without Trouble and Pain, and both are alike distemper'd and diseas'd, for which they lay the Blame upon the Power of Love, and not their own Weakness. Herein only there may seem to be some Difference between them, for that the Sun displays to the Sight upon the Earth, both Beauty and Deformity at once. But Love is a Luminary that affords us the View of beautiful Objects only, and perswades Lovers to cast their Eyes only upon what is pleasing and delightful, but with a careless Eye to overlook all other things. On the other side, they that attribute the Name of *Venus* to the Earth, can make out no Resemblance at all. For that *Venus* is Celestial and Divine; but the Region of Mix-
ture

ture between Mortal and Immortal, is weak of it self, obscure and dark, without the Presence of the Sun ; as *Venus* is where Love is absent. Therefore more properly, and with more probability, the Moon is liken'd to *Venus*, and the Sun to Love, rather then to any other of the Gods. Nevertheless, we must not therefore say they are all one. For neither is the Soul and Body the same, but distinct ; as the Sun is visible, Love perceptible only by Sense. And if it might not be thought too harsh a Saying, a Man might affirm, that the Sun and Love act contrary to one another. For the Sun diverts the Understanding from things intelligible to sensible Objects, alluring and fascinating the Sight with the Grace and Splendor of his Rays, and perswading us to search among other things, even for Truth it self, within and about himself, and no where else. And we appear to be passionately in Love with this Sun, because as *Empirides* says,

*He always on the Earth displays,
The Glory of his burning Rays,*

For want of our Knowledge of another Life ; or rather through Forgetfulness of those things, which Love calls to our Remembrance. For as when after being newly awaked, and coming into a bright and dazling Light, we forget whatever appear'd to the Soul in our Dreams ; so the Sun seems to stupifie the Remembrance of things done, and happening in this Life, and to adulterate and empoysen the Understanding, with the Pleasure and Admiration of himself, so that we forget all other Considerations besides of the other Life. Though there indeed are the real Substances proper for the Contemplation of the Soul ; here they only embrace Dreams, and grope after what is Beautiful and Divine ;

Fallacious

*Fallacious Dreams about his Temples flew,
But such as charm'd his Fancy, though untrue.*

Being perswaded here, that every thing is goodly and highly to be priz'd, unless they happen upon some Divine and Chast Love to be their Physician & Preserver; which being transmitted from *Elysium* thro' Corporeal Bodies, leads them to Truth, and the Fields of Verity; where they desire to embrace that which is pure, and void of Fallacy and Sophistication, and for some time to abide in Amity together; while Love, like an obsequious Servitor to those that are initiated in Sacred Ceremonies, assists and leads them to Noble Contemplations; but no sooner is Love sent from hence again, but the Soul is no longer able to make her approaches of her self, but by the Body. And therefore as *Geometricians*, when Children are not able of themselves to apprehend the intelligible Ideas of incorporeal and impassible Substances, form and set before their Eyes the tangible and visible Imitations of *Spheres*, *Cubes* and *Dodecaedrons*: In like manner Celestial Love having fram'd lovely Mirrors to represent lovely Objects, tho' mortal and passive Figures of things divine, and only perceptible to Sence, shews them to us glittering in the Forms, Colours and Shape of Youth in its Prime, and first insensibly moves the Memory inflam'd by the Sight of these Objects. Whence it comes to pass, that some through the Stupidity of their Friends and Acquaintance, endeavouring by Force, and against Reason, to extinguish that Flame, have enjoy'd nothing of true Benefit thereby, but only either disquieted themselves with Smoak and Trouble, or else rushing headlong into obscure and irregular Pleasures, obstinately cast themselves away. But as many as by sober and modest Ratiocination, have sincerely extinguish'd the raging Heat of the Fire, and only left behind a warm and glowing
Heat

Heat in the Soul, not being any Agitation of the Soul, moving forward to the Seed, or slippery Concurrence of Atomes compress'd by Smoothness and Titillation; but a wonderful and engendring Diffusion, as in a blossoming and well nourish'd Plant; and opening the Pores of Obedience and Affection; these I say, in a short time, passing through the Bodies of those whom they love, penetrate more inwardly, and fall to admire their Manners and Dispositions and calling off their Eyes from the Body, converse together, and contemplate one another in their Discourses, and in their Actions, provided there be but the least Scrip or Appearance of Beauty in the Understanding. If not, they let 'em go, and turn their Affections upon others, like Bees that will not fasten upon many Plants and Flowers, because they cannot gather Honey from them. But where they find any Footstep, any Emanation, any Resemblance of a Divinity, ravish'd with delight and admiration, they attract it to themselves, and place their whole content in what is truly amiable, happy and belov'd by all Mankind.

True it is, that the Poets according to their sportive humor, seem to write many things in Merriment concerning this Deity, and to make him the Subject of their lascivious Songs, in the height of their Revelling Jollity: making but little serious mention of him; whether out of judgment and reason, or being assur'd of the Truth by divine Inspiration, is the question. Among the rest, there is one thing which they say very odly, concerning the Birth and Generation of this God,

*Young Zephyr doting on her Golden Hair,
At last the Silver-Slipper'd Iris won:
And thus embrac'd, at length she bore a Son
Of all the Gods the shrewdest and most fair.*

Unless

Unless the Grammarians have likewise deluded you, by saying that this Fable was invented, by the variety of the colours in the *Rainbow* to set forth the multiply'd diversity of Passions that attend on Love.

To whom *Daphneus*, to what other end or purpose could it be? Here me then, said my Father; for 'tis no more then what the Celestial Meteor constrains us to say. The Reflection of the Colours in the *Rainbow* is an Affection of the Sight, when it lights upon a Cloud somewhat of a dewy substance, but smooth and moderately thick withal, and we beholding the repercussion of the Sun-beams upon it, together with the light and splendor about the Sun, it begets an Opinion in us, that the Apperition is in the Cloud. In like manner, this same subtle Invention of Love-Sophistry in generous and noble Souls causes a repercussion of the Memory from beautiful Objects their appearing, and so call'd, upon that Beauty really divine, truly amiable and happy, and by all admired. But most People pursuing and taking hold of the fancy'd Image of this Beauty in Boys and Women, reap nothing more assur'd and certain then a little Pleasure mix'd with Pain. But this seems to be more then a Delirium or dizziness of the Vulgar sort, beholding their empty and unsatisfy'd desires in the Clouds, as it were in so many Shadows. Like Children, who thinking to catch the *Rainbow* in their hands, snatch at the Apparition that appears before their Eyes. But a generous and modest Lover observes another Method. For his Contemplations reflect only but that Beauty which is divine and perceptible by the Understanding: but lighting upon the Beauty of a visible Body, and making use of it as a kind of Organ of the Memory, he embraces and loves, and by Conversation augmenting his joy and satisfaction, still more and more inflames his Understanding. But neither do these Lovers conversing with Bodies, rest satisfy'd in this World with a Desire and admiration

tion of this same Light; neither when they are arriv'd at *Elisium* after Death, do they return hither again as Fugitives, to hover about the Doors and Mansions of new Marry'd People; which are only the Dreams and Visions of Men and Women given to pleasure and corporeal delights, who by no means deserve the Name and Character of true Lovers. Whereas a Lover truly Chaste and Amorous, being got to the true Mansion of Beauty, and there conversing with it, as much as it is lawful for him to do, mounted upon the Wings of chaste desire, becomes pure and hallow'd, and being initiated into sacred Orders, continues dancing and sporting about his Deity, till returning again to the Meadows of the *Moon* and *Venus*, and there laid asleep, he becomes ready for a new Nativity. But these are Points too high for the Discourse which we have propos'd to our selves.

To return therefore to our purpose; Love, according to *Euripides*, is of the same Nature with all the rest of the Gods,

*That he delights to have his Altars smok,
And Mortals bear his honour'd Name invoke.*

On the other side he is no less offended, when any Affront or Contempt is put upon him; as he is most kind and benign to those that entertain him with humility and respect. For neither does *Jupiter*, Sirnam'd the *Hospitable*, so severely prosecute Injuries done to Strangers and Suppliants, nor is *Jupiter Genialis* so rigorous in accomplishing the Curses of Parents disobey'd, as Love is to listen to the Complaints of injur'd Lovers, being the Scourger and Punisher of Proud, Ill natur'd and Ill-bred People. For not to mention *Euxynhetus* and *Leucomantis*, at this day in *Cyprus* call'd *Paracypusa*, or the *Squint-Ey'd*, 'tis a hundred to one that you have not heard neither of the Punishment inflict'd upon *Gorgo* the *Cretan*, nor much unlike to that of *Paracypusa*, only that

that *Gorgo* was turn'd into a Stone, as she lookt out of a Window to see her Love going to his Grave. With this *Gorgo Asander* fell in Love, a young Gentleman vertuous and nobly descended ; but reduc'd from a flourishing Estate to Extremity of Poverty. However he did not think so meanly of himself, but that being her Kinsman, he courted this *Gorgo* for a Wife, though she had many Suitors at the same time by reason of her great Fortune : and had so carry'd his business, that notwithstanding his numerous and wealthy Rivals, he had gain'd the good will of all her Guardians and nearest Relations.

Now as for those things which they say are the Causes that beget Love, they are not peculiar to this or t'other Sex, but common to both. For those Images that enter into Amorous Persons, and whisk above from one Part to another, moving and tickling the Mass of Atoms that slides into the Seed, cannot perform the same in young Boys ; and it is as impossible they should do the same in young Women, unless we recal these noble and sacred Remembrances with which the Soul is winged to that same Divine, Real and Olympic Beauty. What should hinder then but that the same Remembrances may pass from Boys and Young Men ; what should hinder Virgins and Young Women from remembering the same things, when we find a Disposition chaste good natur'd in the prime of Youth and graceful Features, seeing, that, according to what *Aristotle* said, as a handsom and well made Shoe shews the Proportion of the Foot ; so they that have Judgment in these Matters can discern the splendid, upright and uncorrupted footsteps of a noble and generous Soul in beautiful Forms and Features, and Bodies undefil'd. For should the Question be put to a Voluptuous Person,

*To which are your hot Passions most inclin'd,
Or to the Males, or to the Female kind ?*

And he should answer thus,

*'Tis the same thing to me,
Where e're I Beauty see,*

There is no reason that he should be thought to have return'd a proper and pertinent Answer to his Concupiscence ; and that a noble and generous Lover, should not direct his Amours to Loveliness and good Nature, but only to the Parts that distinguish the Sex. For certainly a Man that delights in Horses, and is a good Horseman besides, will no less value the Mettle and Swiftness of *Podargus*, then of *Aitha* that was *Agamemnon's* Mare. And he that is a good Hunt-man, does not only delight in Dogs, but mixes with his Cry the Bitches of *Candy* and *Laconia* : and shall he that is a Lover as well of Civility, carry himself with an Inequality more to one than to another, and make a distinction as of Garments between the Love of Men and Women ? But some say that Beauty is the Flower of Vertue. Will they then affirm that the Female Sex never blossoms, nor makes any shew of tendency to Vertue : It were absurd to think so. Therefore was *Echylus* in the right, when he said,

*The Woman young that once has been a Bride,
From me her gloating Eye can never hide.*

Now then are those Signs and Marks of Lasciviousness, Wantonness and Impudence to be discover'd in the Visages of Women, and shall there be no Light shining in their Faces for the discovery of Modesty and Chastity ? Nay, shall there be many such Signs and those Apparent, and shall they not be able to allure and provoke Love ? Both are contrary to reason, and dissonant from
Truth :

Truth : but every one of these things is common to both Sexes, as we have shew'd.

Now then *Daphneus*, let us confute the reason that *Zeuxippus* has but now alledg'd, by making Love to be all one with inordinate desire, that hurrys the Soul to Intemperance. Not that it is his Opinion, but only what he has frequently heard from Men morose, and no way addicted to Love. Of which there are some who Marrying poor silly Women, for the sake of some petty Portion, and having nothing to do with them and their Money, but to make them perpetual Drudges in pitiful Mecanic Employments, are every day brawling and quarrelling with them. Others more desirous of Children then of Wives, like Grasshoppers that spill their Seed upon Squills or some such like Herb, discharge their lust in hast upon the next they meet with, and having reap'd the Fruit they sought for, bid Marriage farewell, or else regard it not at all, neither caring to Love, nor be belov'd. And in my Opinion the Words *σέβην* and *σέβηνθαυ*, which signifies *dearly to love* and *dearly to be beloved again*, differing but one Letter from *σέθεν*, which signifies to contain, or endure, seem to me to import and denote, that mutual kindness which is call'd Conjugal, and is intermix'd by time and custom with necessity. But in that same Wedlock which Love supports and inspires, as in *Plato's* Common-wealth, there will be no such Language as *Thine and Mine*. For properly to speak, there is no Community of Goods among all Friends; only where two Friends though sever'd in Body, yet having their Souls melted, and as it were twisted together, and neither being desirous, nor believing themselves to be two separate Persons, live in mutual respect and reverence, which is the chiefest happiness of Wedlock. But where the Law constrains beyond the freedom of the Will, or where we are restrain'd by shame or fear,

*And many other Curbs that loose desire,
And lawless frisks of wanton heat require,*

There it is requisite that they who are coupl'd in Matrimony should have a strict guard upon themselves. Whereas in Love there is so much Continency, so much Modesty, and so much of loyal Affection, that if it happen upon an Intemperate and Lascivious Soul, it is thereby diverted from all other Amours, and by cutting of all malepart Boldness, and bringing down the Insolence of Imperious Pride; instead of which it introduces modest Bashfulness, Silence and Submission, and adorning it with decent and becoming Behaviour, makes it for ever after the obedient Observer of one Lover. Most certainly you have heard of that celebrated, and highly courted Curtisan *Lais*, how her Beauty inflam'd all *Greece*, or rather how two Seas strove for her. This famous Beauty being seiz'd with an ardent Affection for *Hippolochus* the *Thessalian*, leaving the *Acrocorinthus*, as the Poet describes it,

With Sea-green Water all encompass'd round,

And privately avoiding the great Army, as I may so call it, of those that courted her Favour, withdrew her self modestly to the Enjoyment of him only in the City of *Megalopolis*, where the Women incens'd with Jealousie, and envying her surpassing Beauty, dragg'd her into the Temple of *Venus*, and there ston'd her to Death. For which reason it is call'd to this Day the Temple of *Venus* the *Murdress*. We our selves have known several young Damsels, little better then Slaves, who never would submit to the Embraces of their Masters, and private Persons, who have disdain'd the Company of Queens, when Love had the absolute Dominion of their Hearts. For, as in *Rome*, when there is a Dictator chosen, all other chief Magistrates lay down their Offices,

Offices, so all such Persons, where Love is truly predominant, are immediately free and manumitted from all other Lords and Masters, and afterwards live like Votaries to some particular Deity. And indeed a vertuous and generous Lady, once link'd to her lawful Husband by an unfeign'd Affection, will sooner choose the Embraces of Wolves and Dragons, then to be the Bedfellow of any other Person whatsoever but her only Spouse. Of which, although we might produce Examples without Number, yet among you that are of the same Country where *Cupid* was born, and keep him Company at all his Festivals and Dancing Matches, it will not be from the Purpose to relate the Story of *Kamma* the *Galatian*. For she being a Woman of transcendent Beauty, and marry'd to *Sinatus* the *Tetrach*, *Sinorix*, one of the most powerful Men in all *Galatia*, fell desperately in Love with her, and that he might enjoy her, murdered her Husband *Sinatus*, since he could not prevail with her either by Force or Perswasion, while her Husband was alive. Thereupon *Kamma* having no other Sanctuary for the Preservation of her Chastity, nor Consolation in her Affliction, retir'd to the Temple of *Diana*, where she remain'd a Votaress to the Goddess, not admitting any Person so much as to speak to her, though she had many Suitors that sought her in Wedlock. But when *Synorix* boldly presum'd to put the Question to her, she neither seem'd to reject his Motion, neither did she upbraid him with the Crime he had committed, as if he had been induc'd to perpetrate so vile an Act, not out of any malicious intent to *Sinatus*, but meerly out of a pure and ardent Love and Affection to her. Thereupon he came with greater Confidence, and demanded her in Marriage. She on the other side, met him no less chearfully, and leading him by the Hand to the Altar of the Goddess, after she had pour'd forth a small quantity of *Hydromel*, well

temper'd with a rank Poyson, as it were an Atonement offering to the Goddess, she drank off the one half of that which remain'd her self, and gave the other half to the *Galatian*. And then, so soon as she saw he had drank it off, she gave a loud Groan, and calling her deceas'd Husband by his Name. *This Day*, said she, *my most dear and beloved Husband, I have long expected, as having liv'd, depriv'd of thee, a desolate and comfortless Life: but now receive me joyfully; for, for thy Sake I have reveng'd myself upon the most wicked among Men, willing to have liv'd with thee, and now no less rejoicing to dye with him.* Thus *Synorix* being carry'd out of the Temple, soon after expir'd, but *Camma* surviving him a Day and a Night, is reported to have dy'd with an extraordinary Resolution and Chearfulness of Spirit. Now in regard there have been many such, as well among us as among the *Barbarians*, who can bear with those that reproach *Venus*, that being coupl'd and present with Love, she becomes a Hindrance of Friendship? Whereas any sober and considerate Person, may rather revile the Company of Male with Male, and justly call it Intemperance and Lasciviousness.

*A vile Affront to Nature, no Effect,
Of lovely Venus, or of chaste Respect.*

And therefore as for those that willingly prostitute their Bodies, we look upon 'em to be the most wicked and flagitious Persons in the World, void of Fidelity, neither endu'd with Modesty nor any thing of Friendship, and but too truly and really, according to *Sophocles*,

*They who ne're had such Friends as these,
Believe their Blessing double,
And they that have 'em, pray the Gods
To rid 'em of the Trouble.*

And

And as for those, who not being by Nature Lewd and Wicked, were circumvented & forc'd to prostitute themselves, they persist in a perfect Hatred and Detestation of no Men more then those that deluded and flatter'd 'em into so vile an Act, and bitterly revenge themselves when they find an Opportunity. For *Crates* kill'd *Archelaus*, who had rid him in his Youth, and *Pytholaus* slew *Alexander the Pharean*. *Periander*, Tyrant of the *Ambraciates*, ask'd his Minion, whether he were with Child or no? which the Lad took so heinously, that he stab'd him. Whereas among Women that are marry'd, these are but the Beginnings of Friendship, as it were, a communicating and imparting of Great and Sacred Mysteries. The Pleasure of Coition is the least thing; but the Honour, the Submission to mutual Love and Fidelity, which daily germinates from this, convince us, that neither the *Delphians* rav'd, who gave the Name of *Harma*, or a *Chariot* to *Venus*; nor that *Homer* was in an Error, who call'd the Conjunction of Man and Woman, by the Name of *Friendship*: but that *Solon* was a Law-giver the most experienc'd in Conjugal Affairs; who decreed, that a Husband should lye with his Wife thrice a Month at least, not for Pleasures Sake, but that as Cities renew their Treaties one with another at such a time, so that the Alliance of Matrimony might be renew'd by the Discontinuance of Chast Enjoyment. But you will say, there are many Men in Love with Women that act amiss and furiously. But are there not more Enormities committed by those that are enamor'd upon Boys? But though there is a Raging Passion after Boys, as well as a Dotage upon Women, yet can neither be truly said to be truly Love. And therefore it is an Absurdity to aver, that Women are not capable of other Vertues, as well as Love. For not to speak of so many Signals for their Chastity, Prudence and Fidelity; we find others no less Eminent for

their Justice, Fortitude, Resolution and Magnanimity ; after all which, to tax them of being incapable of Friendship only, is a hard Case. For they are naturally Lovers of their Children, affectionate to their Husbands ; and this same Natural Affection of theirs, like a fertile Soil, as it is capable of Friendship ; so it is no less pliable to perswasion nor less accompanied with all the Graces. But as Poetry adapting to Speech the Condiments of Rythm, Measure and charming Expression renders the wholsom and instructive Part of it so much the more moving, and the noxious Part so much the more apt to corrupt the Mind ; so Nature having adorn'd a Woman with the Charms of Beauty and perswasive Language, a Lascivious Woman makes use of these Perfections to please her self and deceive others, but in a Modest and Sober Woman, they work wonders towards the gaining and fixing the good will and favour of her Husband. Therefore *Plato* exhorted *Xenocrates*, otherwise generous and brave, but very morose in his humor, to sacrifice to the Graces ; but he would have exhorted a Vertuous and Modest Woman to Sacrifice to Love, for his propitious favour to her Marriage, in ordering it so, that her behaviour may prove a sufficient Charm to keep her Husband at Home, or if he will be upon his Rambles after other Women, he may be forc'd to exclaim, as in the Comedy,

*Curse 'o this Rage of Mine, so given to roam,
What a good Wife do I abuse at Home ?*

For in Wedlock, to love is a far greater blessing then to be belov'd. For it preserves and keeps People from falling into many Errors, especially those that corrupt and ruin Matrimony ; for as for those passionate Affections, which at the beginning of Coujugal Love raise certain Fits which are somewhat sharp and biting, most fortunate *Xenippus*, I would not have you fear them, for any
Ulcer

Ulcer or Scarification which they will produce. Though perhaps it would not be amiss if it should cost ye some small wound to be joyn'd to a vertuous Woman, like Trees that grow together, when grafted by Incision upon a proper Stock. The beginning of Conception it self, is a kind of Exulceration; for there can be no mixture of things that do not suffer reciprocally one from the other. The very Mathematical Rudiments do not a little perplex little Children at the first; as Philosophy troubles the Brains of Young beginners, though grown to maturity of Years; so neither does this corroding humour always remain among Lovers, no more then those first unpleasantnesses among Scholars and Students. Infomuch that a Man would think that Love at first resembl'd the mixture of two Liquors, which when they once begin to incorporate by their Ebullition discover some little disgusts; for so Love at the beginning bubbles up with a kind of Effervency, till being settl'd and purify'd, it acquires a firm and stable Constitution. For this indeed is properly that kind of mixture, which is call'd the Mixture of the whole through the whole. Whereas the Love of other Friends conversing and living together, is like the touches and interweavings of *Epicurus's* Atoms; subject to raptures and seperations, but can never compose such a Union as proceeds from Love, assisting conjugal Society. For neither are the Pleasures receiv'd from any other Love so great, nor the benefits so lasting one from another, nor is the Glory and Beauty of any other Friendship so noble and desirable,

*As when the Man and Wife at Board and Bed
Under one Roof a Life of Concord lead.*

More especially where it is a thing warranted by Law, while Nature shews us that even the Gods themselves stood in need of Love, for the sake of common Procreation.

creation. Thus the Poets tells us that Heaven was in Love with the Earth, and the Natural Philosophers are of Opinion that the Sun is in love with the Moon, that they copulate every Month, and that the Moon Conceives by vertue of that Conjunction: and it would of necessity follow, that the Earth which is the common Mother of all Mankind, of all Animals and of all manner of Plants, would one day cease and be extinguish'd, should that same Ardent Love and Desire infused by the God forsake the Matter, and that Matter cease to pursue and lust after the Principles and Motions of Generation.

But that we may not seem to wander too far, or spend our time in Trifles, you your selves are not ignorant that these Padraffities are by many said to be most uncertain and the least durable things in the World, and derided by those that make use of them, who affirm the Friendship of Boys to be like an Egg divided into three Parts: & the Lovers themselves are like the wandring *Scythians*, who having spent their Spring in flowry & verdent Pastures, presently dislodge from thence, as out of an Enemies Country. And *Bio* the Sophister was yet more sharp and Satyrical, when he call'd the Beards of young and beautiful Striplings by the Names of *Harmodii*, and *Aristogitons*, as being by that fair budding show of Manhood, deliver'd from the Tyranny of their Lovers. But these imputations are not charg'd upon true Lovers. Elegant therefore was that which was said by *Euripides*: For as he was clipping and embracing the Fair *Agatho*, just as the Down began to sprout forth upon his Chin, he cry'd that the very *Autumn* of lovely Youths was pleasing and delightful. But I say more then this, that the Love of vertuous Women does not decay with the Wrinkles that appear upon their Faces, but remains and endures to their Graves and Monuments. Then again, we shall find but few Male-Couples of True Lovers;
but

but thousands of Men and Women conjoyn'd together in Wedlock, who have reciprocally and inviolably observ'd a Community of Affection and Loyalty to the end of their Lives. I shall only instance one Example, which happen'd in our time, during the Reign of *Cæsar Vespasian*. *Julius* who was the first that occasioned the Revolt in *Galatia* among many other Confederates in the Rebellion had one *Sabinus*, a Young Gentleman, of no mean Spirit, and for Fame and Riches, inferior to none. But having undertaken a very difficult enterprize they miscarry'd, and therefore expecting nothing but Death by the hand of Justice, some of them kill'd themselves, others made their Escapes as well as they could; and as for *Sabinus* he had all the Opportunities that could be to save himself by flying to the *Barbarians*. But he had Martyr'd a Lady, the best of Women, which they call'd by the Name of *Empone*, as much as to say in the Greek Language a *Heroess*. This Woman it was not in his Power to leave, neither could he carry her conveniently along with him. Having therefore in the Country certain Vaults or Cellars under ground, where he had hid his Treasures and Moveables of greatest value, which were only known to two of his freed Bondmen, he dismiss'd all the rest of his Servants, as if he had intended to have poyson'd himself, and taking along with him his two faithful and trusty Servants, he hid himself in one of the Vaults, and sent another of his enfranchiz'd Attendants, whose Name was *Martialus*, to tell his Wife, that her Husband had poyson'd himself, and that the House and his Corps were both burnt together, designing by the Lamentation and unfeigned Grief of his Wife, to make the Report of his Death the more easily believ'd, which fell out according to his Wish. For the Lady, so soon as she heard the News, threw her self upon the Floor, and there continu'd for three days together, without

without Meat or Drink, making the most bitter out-crys, and bewayling her loss with all the marks of a real and unfeigned Anguish, which *Sabinus* understanding, and fearing her Sorrow might prevail with her to lay violent hands upon her self, he order'd the same *Martialus* to tell her he was yet alive, and lay hid in such a Place; however that she should for a while continue her Mourning and be sure so to counterfeit her Grief, that she should not be discover'd. And indeed in all other things the Lady acted her Part so well, and managed her Passion to that degree, that no Woman could do it better. But having still a longing desire to see her Husband, she went to him in the Night, and return'd again so privately, that no body took any notice of her. And thus she continu'd keeping him Company for seven Months together, that it might be said to differ very little from living in Hell it self. Where after she had so strangely disguis'd *Sabinus* with a false Head of Hair, and such odd sort of Habit, that it was impossible for him to be known, she carry'd him to *Rome* along with her undiscover'd to several that met him. But not being able to obtain his Pardon, she return'd with him back to his Den, and for many Years convers'd with him under Ground; only between whiles she went to the City, and there shew'd her self in Public to several Ladys her Friends and Familiar Acquaintance. But that which was the most incredible of all things, she so order'd her business, that none of them perceiv'd her being with Child, though she was very big at the same time. For such is the Nature of that same Oyntment wherewith the women anoynt their Hair to make it of a Colour shining like Gold, that by the Fatness and Oyliness of it, it plumps and swells up the Flesh of the Body, and brings it up to an *Embonpoint*: So that the Lady no less liberal of her Oyntment, then she was diligent to chafe and rub her Body limb by limb, by the pro-

proportionable rising and swelling of her Flesh in every Part, conceal'd the swelling of her Belly: and when she came to be deliver'd, she endur'd the Pains of her Child-bearing along by her self; like a Lioness hiding her self in her Den with her Husband, and there, as I may say, bred up in private her two Male Whelps; for at that time she was deliver'd of two Boys. Of which there was one who was slain in *Agypt*: the other whose Name was also *Sabinus*, was but very lately with us at *Delphi*. For this reason *Cæsar* put the Lady to death; but dearly paid for the Murder, by the utter extirpation of his whole Posterity, which in a short time after was utterly cut off from the Face of the Earth. For during his whole Reign, there was not a more cruel and savage Act committed; neither was there any other Spectacle, which in all probability the Gods and Dæmons more detested; or from which they turn'd away their Eyes in Abomination of the Sight: Besides that she abated the compassion of the Spectators by the stoutness of her Behaviour and the Grandure of her Utterance, then which there was nothing more exasperated *Vespasian*; when despairing of her Husbands Pardon, she did as it were challeng the Emperor to exchange her Life for his; telling him withal, that she accounted it a far greater Pleasure to have liv'd in darkness under ground, then to see him Reign in all his Splendor.

Here, as my Father told me, ended the Discourse concerning Love, they being now got pretty near to *Theſſia*; at what time they saw coming a good round pace toward them one of *Pifias*'s Friends, by name *Diogenes*; to whom when *Soclarus*, while he was yet at a distance, cry'd out, No tydings of War, *Diogenes*, I hope? No, no, said he, that near can be at a Wedding; and therefore mend your pace; for the Nuptial Sacrifice stays only for your coming. And to tell ye the Truth, all the rest of the Company were exceeding glad, only
Zen.

Zeuxippus seemed to be a little moody. And yet he was the first who when it came to the conclusion, approv'd what *Ismenodora* had done ; and at the same time putting on a Garland upon his Head, and throwing a White Nuptial Robe about his Shoulders, march'd before all the Company through the Market place, to give thanks to the God of Love. Well done, by *Jupiter*, come away, come away then, cry'd my Father, that we may Laugh and be Merry with our Friend, and adore the Deity, so Apparently and Propitiously present with his Favour and Approbation of the Wedding.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. IV.

Five Tragical Histories of Love.

Translated from the Greek by Sir A. I.

IN *Aliartus*, which is a City of *Beotia*, liv'd a Young Damsel, of surpassing Beauty, whose Name was *Aristoclia*, the Daughter of *Theophanes*. This Lady was courted by *Straton* an *Orchomenian*, and *Callisthenes* of *Haliartus*; but *Straton* was the more Wealthy of the two, and more enamour'd of the Virgin. For he had seen her Bathing her self in the Fountain of *Ercyne*, which is in *Lebadia*, against the Time that she was to celebrate the Solemnity of carrying the a Sacred Pannier as an Offering to *Jupiter* the King. But the Virgin her self had a greater Affection for *Callisthenes*, for that he was

a This Pannier was of pure Gold, fill'd with all the First Fruits of the Season, and was carry'd by Virgins that were come to Maturity, though not in Honour of *Jupiter*, but of *Bacchus*, as *Damarathus* affirms. Others say, that those Panniers were fill'd by the Nobler

Sort of *Athenian* Virgins, with such things as they had wrought with most Beauty and Curiosity, and offer'd to *Diana*, signifying thereby that they were weary of their Virginity, and desir'd to change their Course of Life.

more

more nearly ally'd to her. In this case, her Father *Theophanes* not knowing well what to do (for he was afraid of *Straton*, who had the Advantage both of Noble Birth and Riches above all the rest of the *Beotians*) resolv'd to refer the Choice to the Oracle of *Jupiter Trophonius*. On the other side, *Straton* (for he was made believe by some of the Virgins familiar Acquaintance, that his Mistress had the greatest Kindness for him) earnestly desir'd to refer the Matter to the Election of the Virgin her self. But when *Theophanes* put the Question to his Daughter in a great Assembly of all the Friends of all Parties; so it fell out that the Damsel preferr'd *Callisthenes*. Thereupon it presently appear'd in *Straton's* Countenance, how much he was disgusted at the Indignity he had receiv'd. However, two days after he came to *Theophanes* and *Callisthenes*, requesting the Continuance of their Friendship, notwithstanding that some *Demons* had envy'd him the Happiness of his intended Marriage. Who so well approv'd his Proposal, that they invited him to the Wedding and the Nuptial Feast. But he in the mean time having muster'd together a great Number of his Friends, together with a numerous Troop of his own Servants, whom he secretly dispos'd and dispos'd up and down in Places proper for his Purpose, watch'd his Opportunity so well, that as the Damsel was going down, according to the Custom of the Country, to the Fountain, call'd *Cissoessa*, there to pay her Offerings to the Nymphs before her Wedding-day, he and his Accomplices rushing out of their *Embuscado*, seiz'd upon the Virgin, whom *Strato* held fast and pull'd to himself. On the other side, *Callisthenes*, with those that were about him, as it is easie to be believ'd, flew with all speed to her Relief; and in this fatal Contest, while the one tugg'd, and the t'other hawl'd, the unhappy Damsel perish'd. As for *Callisthenes*, he was never seen any more, whether he lay'd violent hands upon himself, or whether it were that

that he left *Baotia* as a voluntary Exile, for no Man could give any account of him afterwards. And as for *Strato*, he flew himself upon the dead Body of the unfortunate Virgin.

A certain great Person, whose Name was *Phido*, designing to make himself Lord of the whole *Peloponnesus*, and more especially desirous that *Argos*, being his Native Country, should be the Metropolis of all the rest, resolv'd to reduce the *Corinthians* under his Subjection. To this purpose he sent to them, to demand a Levy of a thousand young Gentlemen, the most Valiant, and the Chiefest, in the Prime of their Age, in the whole City. Accordingly they sent him a thousand young Sparks, brisk and gallant, under the leading of *Dexander*, whom they chose to be their Captain. But *Phido*, designing nothing more then the Massacre of these Gentlemen, to the end he might the more easily make himself Master of *Corinth*, enfeebld by so great a Loss (as being by the Scituation of it, the only Bulwark to guard the Entrance into *Peloponnesus*) imparted this Contrivance of his to several of his Confidants, in which Number, was one whose Name was *Abro*, who having been formerly acquainted, and familiarly entertained by *Dexander*, discover'd the whole Conspiracy to his Friend, in acknowledgment of his Kindness. By which means, the *Phlias*, before they fell into the *Embuscado*, retreated and got safe to *Corinth*. *Phido* thus disappointed, made all the Inquiry imaginable, to find out who it was that had betray'd and discover'd his Design. Which *Abro* understanding, fled to *Corinth* with his Wife and all his Family, and settl'd himself in *Melissus*, a certain Village in the Territory of the *Corinthians*. There he begat a Son, whom he named *Melissus*, from the Name of the Place where he was born. The Son of this *Melissus* was *Acteon*, the loveliest and most modest of all the Striplings of his Age. For which reason there were several

that fell in Love with him, but none with so much Ardour as *Archias*, being of the Race of the *Heraclidae*, and for Wealth and Authority, the greatest Person in all *Corinth*. This *Archias*, when he found that no fair Means and Perswasions would prevail upon the young Lad, resolv'd to ravish him away by Force, To which purpose he invited himself to *Meliffus's* House, as it were, to make Merry, accompany'd with a great number of his Friends and Servants, and by their Assistance, made an Attempt to carry away the Body by Violence. But the Father and his Friends opposing the Rape, and the Neighbours coming in to the Rescue of the Child, poor *Actæon*, between the one and the other, was pull'd and hawl'd to Death; and *Archias* with his Company departed. Upon this, *Meliffus* carry'd the Murther'd Body of his Son into the Market place of *Corinth*, and there exposing him to publick View, demanded Justice to be done upon the Murtherers. But finding that the *Corinthians* only pity'd his Condition, without taking any further notice of the Matter, he return'd home, and waited for the Grand Assembly of the *Greeks* at *Isthmus*. At what time, getting up to the very Top of *Neptune's* Temple, he exclaim'd against the whole Race of the *Bacchiade*, and after he had made a public Relation of the good Service which his Father *Abro* had done the *Corinthians*, he invok'd the Vengeance of the Gods, and presently threw himself headlong among the Rocks. Soon after the *Corinthians* being plagu'd with a most terrible Drought, upon which ensu'd a violent Famine, sent to the Oracle, to know by what means they might be deliver'd from their Calamity. To whom the Deity made answer, that it was *Neptune's* Wrath, which would not cease till they had reveng'd the Death of *Actæon*; which *Archias* hearing (for he was one of those that were sent to the Oracle) he never return'd again to *Corinth*, but Sailing into *Sicily*, built there the City of *Syracuse*,

vacuse, where after he was become the Father of two Daughters, *Ortygia* and *Syracussa*, he was treacherously slain by *Telephus*, whom he had preternaturally abus'd in his Youth, and who, having the Command of a Ship, Sail'd along with him into *Sicily*.

A certain poor Man, *Skedafus* by Name liv'd at *Leuſtra*, a small Village in the Territory of the *Theſpians* and had two Daughters, *Hippo* and *Mileſia*; or as others ſay, *Theano* and *Euxippe*. This *Skedafus* was a very good Man, and to the Extent of his Fortune, very Hospitable to Strangers. Which was the reaſon that moſt readily and gladly he entertain'd two young Gentlemen of *Sparta*, that came to lodge at his Houſe. Who falling in Love with the Virgins, yet were ſo over-aw'd by the Kindneſs that *Skedafus* had ſhew'd them, that they durſt not make any rude Attempt for that time. The next Morning therefore they went directly to the City of *Delphos*; where after they had conſulted the Oracle, touching ſuch Queſtions as they had to put, they return'd homeward, and travelling through *Beotia*, ſtopp'd again at *Skedafus's* Houſe, who happen'd at that time, not to be at *Leuſtra*. However, his Daughters, according to that Education to which their Father had accuſtom'd them, gave the ſame entertainment to the Strangers, as if their Father had been at Home. But ſuch was the perfidious Ingratitude of theſe Guests, that finding the Virgins alone, they raviſh'd, and by force deſlowr'd the Damſels; and which was worſe, perceiv- ing them lamenting to exceſs the undeſerv'd Injury they had receiv'd, the Ravishers murther'd 'em, and after they had thrown their Bodies into a Well, went their ways. Soon after *Skedafus* returning Home, miſs'd both his Daughters, but all things elſe he found ſafe and in order as he left them; which put him into ſuch a Quandary, that he knew not what to ſay or do, till in- ſtructed by a little Bitch that ſeveral times in a Day

came whining and fawning upon him, and then return'd to the Well ; he began to suspect what he found to be true, and so he drew up the dead Bodies of his Daughters. Moreover, being then inform'd by his Neighbours, that they had seen the two *Lacedæmonian* Gentlemen which he had entertain'd some time before, go into his House, he guess'd them to be the Persons who had committed the Fact, for that they would be always praising the Virgins when they lodg'd there before, and telling their Father what happy Men they would be that should have the good Fortune to marry them. Thereupon away he went to *Lacedæmon*, with a Resolution to make his Complaint to the *Ephori*; but being benighted in the Territory of *Argos*, he put into a Public House, where he found another Old Man, of the City of *Oreum*, in the Province of *Hestieas* ; whom when he heard Sighing and Cursing the *Lacedæmonians*, *Skedafus* ask'd him what Injury the *Lacedæmonians* had done him ? In answer to which, the Old Man gave him this Account: *I am*, said he, *a Subject to the Lacedæmonians, by whom, Aristodemus was sent to Oreum, to be Governour of that Place, where he committed several Outrages and Savage Enormities. Among the rest, being fallen in Love with my Son, when he could by no fair means procure his Consent, he endeavour'd to carry him away by main Force out of the Wrestling-place : But the President of the Exercises opposing him, with the Assistance of several of the Young Men, Aristodemus was constrain'd to retire ; but the next Day, having provided a Galley to be in a readiness, he ravish'd away my Son, and sailing from Oreum to the opposite Continent, endeavour'd, when he had the Boy, there to abuse his Body, and because the Lad refus'd to submit to his Lust, cut the Child's Throat. Upon his Return, he made a great Feast at Oreum, to which he invited all his Friends. In the mean while, I being soon inform'd of the sad Accident, presently went and interr'd the Body; and having so*
done,

done, I made haste to Sparta, and preferr'd my Complaint to the Epori, but they gave me no Answer, nor took any notice of the Matter.

Skedafus having heard this Relation, remain'd very much dejected, believing he should have no better Success. However, in his Turn, he gave an Account to the Stranger of his own sad Mischance; which when he had done, the Stranger advis'd him not to complain to the *Ephori*, but to return to his own Country, and erect a Monument for his two Daughters. But *Skedafus* not liking this Advice, went to *Sparta*. made his Case known to the *Ephori*, and demanded Justice, who taking no notice of his Complaint, away he went to the Kings, but they as little regarding him, he apply'd himself to every particular Citizen, and recommended to them the Sadness of his Condition. At length, when he saw nothing would do, he ran through the City, stretching forth his Hands to the Sun, and stamping the Ground with his Feet, call'd upon the Furies to revenge his Cause; and when he had done all he could, in the last place flew himself; but afterwards the *Lacedaemonians* dearly pay'd for their Injustice. For being at that time Lords of all Greece, while all the chiefest Cities of that spacious Region were curb'd by their Garrisons, *Epaminondas* the *Theban* was the first that threw off their Yoak, and cut the Throats of the Garrison that lay in *Thebes*. Upon which, the *Lacedaemonians* making War upon the Revolters, the *Thebans* met them at *Leuctra*, confident of Success from the Name of the Place, for that formerly they had been there deliver'd from Slavery; at what time *Amphyctyon* being driven into Exile by *Sthenelus*, came to the City of *Thebes*, and finding them Tributaries to the *Chalcidians*, after he had slain *Chalcodon*, King of the *Eubaeans*, eas'd them altogether of that Burthen. In like manner it happen'd that the *Lacedaemonians* were

vanquish'd not far from the Monument of *Skedafus's* Daughters. It is Reported also that before the Fight, *Pelopidas* being then one of the *Theban* Generals, and troubled by reason of some certain Signs that seem'd to portend some ill Event in the Battle, *Skedafus* appear'd to him in a Dream, and bid him be of good Courage, for that the *Lacedamonians*, were come to *Leuttra* to receive the just Vengeance which they ow'd to him and his Daughters; only the Ghost advis'd him, the Day before he encounter'd the *Lacedamonians*, to Sacrifice the Foal of a white Mare, which he should find ready for him close by his Daughters Sepulchre. Whereupon *Pelopidas*, while the *Lacedamonians* yet lay encamp'd at *Tegea*, sent certain Persons to examin the Truth of the Matter, and finding by the Inhabitants thereabouts that every thing agreed with his Dream, he advanced with his Army boldly forward and won the Field.

Phocus was a *Beotian* by Birth (for he was born in the City of *Gleifas*) the Father of *Challirra*, who was a Virgin of matchless Beauty and Modesty, and courted by thirty young Gentlemen, the Prime of the *Beotian* Nobility. *Phocus* therefore seeing so many Suitors about her, still pretended one Excuse or other to put off her Marriage, afraid lest some Force or other should be put upon her. At length, when he could hold out no longer, the Gentlemen being offended at his dilatory Answers he desir'd them to refer it to the *Pythian* Deity to make the Choice. But this the Gentlemen took so heinously, that they fell upon *Phocus* and slew him. In this Combustion and Tumult, the Virgin making her Escape, fled into the Country, and was as soon pursu'd by the young Sparks; but lighting upon certain Country People that were piling up their Wheat in a Barn, by their Assistance she sav'd her self: for the Country-men hid her in the Corn; so that they who
were

were in chase of her, pass'd her by. The Virgin thus preserv'd, kept her self close till the General Assembly of the *Beotians*, call'd *Pambootia*, and then coming to *Coronea*, she there sat as a Suppliant before the Altar of a *Itonian Minerva*, and there a Rather I gave a full Relation of the Villany and conian.

Murder committed by her Several Suitors, discovering withal the Names of the Persons, and Places of their Abode. The *Beotians* commiserating the Virgin, were no less incens'd against the young Gentlemen; who having notice of what had pass'd, fled to *Orchomenus*; but being shut out by the Citizens, made their Escape to *Hippote*, a Village near to *Helicon*, seated between *Thebes* and *Coronea*, where they were receiv'd and protected. Thither the *Thebans* sent to have the Murderers of *Phocus* deliver'd up, which the Inhabitants refusing to do, they march'd against the Town with a good Force of other *Beotians*, under the Leading of *Phedus*, then the cheif Ruler of *Thebes*, and laying Siege to it, for it was a strong Place, at last they took it for want of Water; and in the first place, having apprehended all the Murderers, they ston'd them to Death; then they condemn'd the Inhabitants to perpetual Slavery, broke down the Walls, ruin'd the Houses, and divided the Land between the *Thebans* and *Coroneans*. The Report goes, that the Night before *Hippote* was taken, there was a Voice heard from *Helicon*, several times uttering these Words, *I am come*; and that when the thirty Rivals heard it, they knew it to be the Voice of *Phocus*; and it was said moreover, that the very Day the Rivals were ston'd, the Monument of the old Man, which was erected in *Cleifas*, was cover'd with Saffron. And as *Phedus*, the Governor and General of the *Thebans*, was upon his March homeward from the Siege, News was brought him upon the Way, that his Wife had brought him a Daughter, which for

the good Omens Sake, he call'd by the Name of *Nicostrata*.

Alcippus was a *Lacedæmonian* by Birth, who marrying *Damocrita*, became the Father of two Daughters. This *Alcippus* being a Person that always advis'd the City for the best, and one that was always ready to serve his Country-men upon all Occasions, was envy'd by a contrary Faction that bandy'd against him, and continually accus'd him to the *Ephori*, as one that endeavour'd to subvert the ancient Laws and Constitutions of the City, and never left till the *Ephori* had banish'd the Husband who being condemn'd, forsook the City; but when *Damocrita* and his Daughters would fain have follow'd him, they would not permit them to stir. Moreover they confiscated his Estate, to deprive his Daughters of their Portions. Nay, more then this, when there were some that courted the Daughters for the Sake of their Fathers Vertue, his Enemies obtain'd a Decree, whereby it was forbid that any Man should make Love to the young Ladies, cunningly alledging, that the Mother had often pray'd to the Gods to favour her Daughters with speedy Wedlock, to the end they might the sooner bring forth Children to be reveng'd of the Injury done their Father. *Damocrita* thus beset, and in a Streight on every side, stay'd till the General Festival, when the Women, together with their Daughters, Servants and little Children Feast in public together; on which day, the Wives of the Magistrates and Persons in Dignity, Feast all Night in a spacious Hall by themselves. But then it was that *Damocrita*, with a Sword girt about her, and taking her Daughters with her, went in the Night-time to the Temple, and watching her Opportunity, when the Women were all busie in the great Hall, performing the Mysteries of the Solemnity, after all the Ways and Passages were stopp'd up, she fetch'd the Wood that was
ready

ready prepar'd for the Sacrifices appertaining to the Festival, and pill'd it against the Doors of the Room, and so set Fire to it. All was then in a Hurry, and the Men came crowding in vain to help their Wives ; but then it was that *Damocrita* slew her Daughters, and upon their Dead Bodies her self. Thus the *Lacedæmonians* not knowing upon whom to wreck their Anger, were forc'd to be contented with only throwing the dead Bodies of the Mother and the Daughters without the Confines of their Territories. For which barbarous Act of theirs the Deity being highly offended, plagu'd the *Lacedæmonians*, as their Histories record, with that most dreadful Earthquake, so remarkable to Posterity.

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. IV.

A Discourse to an unlearned Prince.

Translated from the Greek by Mr. John Kersey.

PLato being desired by the *Cyreneans* to prescribe to them good Laws, and to settle their Government, refused to do it; saying, That it was a hard matter to give them any Law, whilst they enjoyed so much Prosperity; since nothing is so fierce, arrogant and untameable, as a Man that thinks himself to be in a happy Condition: Wherefore it is very difficult to give Counsel to Princes in Matters of Government; for they fear to receive Advice as a thing seeming to command them, lest the Force of Reason should seem to lessen their Power, by obliging it to submit to Truth. And they consider not the Saying of *Theopompus*, King of *Sparta*, who being the first in that Country that joy'd the *a Ephori* with the Kings, was reproached by his Wife, because by this means he would leave the Kingdom to his Children less than he found it, to whom he replied, that he should render it so much the greater, by how much the more firm it was; for by holding the Reins of Government somewhat loose, he avoided

a Certain Magistrates, whose Office it was to inspect the Affairs of the Commonwealth.

avoided all Envy and Danger ; nevertheless, since he permitted the Stream of his Power to flow so freely into other Channels, what he gave to them must needs be a Loss to himself. Though Philosophy possessing a Prince as his Assistant and Keeper, by taking away the Dangerous part of Fulness of Power, leaves the Sound. But many Kings and Princes foolishly imitate those unskilful Statuaries, who think to make their Images look Great and Fierce, if they make them much straddling and distended ; after the same manner, they, by the grave Tone of their Voice, stern Countenance and morose Behaviour, would affect a kind of Mejestic Grandeur, not unlike those Statues, that without seem to be of an Heroic and Divine Form, but within, are fill'd with nothing but Earth, Stone and Lead, with this only Difference, that the weight of these massie Bodies renders them stable and unmovable, whereas unlearned Princes, by their internal Ignorance, are often shaken and overthrown, and in regard they do not build their Power on its true Basis and Foundation, they fall together with it : For as it is necessary at first that the Rule itself should be right and streight, before those things that are applied to it can be rectified and made like unto it. So a Potentate ought in the first place to learn how to govern his own Passions, and to imbue his Mind with a Tincture of Princely Vertues, and afterwards to make his Subjects conformable to his Example ; for it is not the Property of one that is ready to fall himself, to hinder another from Tripping ; nor of one that is Rude and Illiterate, to instruct the Ignorant ; neither can a Person Govern, that is under no Government. But many being deceived by a false Opinion, esteem it the chiefest Good in Ruling, to be Subject to no Authority ; and thus the *Persian* King accounted all as his Servants and Slaves except his Wife, whose Master he ought more especially to have been. Who then shall have Power

to govern a Prince? The Law, without doubt, which (as *Pindar* saith) is the King of Mortal and Immortal Beings, and is not written without in Books, nor engraven on Wood or Stone, but is a clear Reason imprinted in the Heart, always residing and watching therein, and never suffering the Mind to be without Government. The King of *Persia* indeed, commanded one of his Lords that lay in the same Chamber, to attend him every Morning, and to sound these Words in his Ears: *Arise,*

O King! and take care of those Affairs and Duties that (a) Oromaldes requires of thee. But a Wife and Learned Prince hath such a Monitor within his Breast, that always prompts and admonishes him to the same effect. It was a Saying of *Polemon*, that Love was the Minister of the Gods, appointed to take care of the Education of Youth, but it might be more truly affirmed, that Princes are the Administrators of the Divine Power, for the Safety and Protection of Mankind, to distribute part of those Goods that God bestows on Men, and to reserve part for themselves.

*Dost thou behold the vast and azure Skie,
How in its liquid Arms the Earth doth lie?*

The Air indeed dispierces the first Principles of convenient Seeds, but the Earth causeth them to spring forth; some grow and thrive by the means of moderate and refreshing Showrs, some delight in gentle Breezes of Wind, and some are cherished by the Influence of the Moon and Stars; but 'tis the Sun that perfects and beautifies all, inspiring them with the Principle of mutual Sympathy and Love. Nevertheless, all these, so many and so great Benefits that are the Effects of the Divine Munificence and Liberality, cannot be enjoyed, nor duly made use of, without a Law, Justice and a Prince; for
Justice

Justice is the end of the Law, the Law is the Prince's Work, and the Prince is the Image of God, that disposeth all things; he doth not stand in need of a *Phidias*, a *Policlotus*, or a *Myro*; but by the Practice of Vertue, makes himself most like the Divine Nature, and becomes a most delectable Object to God and Man; for as God hath placed the Sun and Moon in Heaven, as manifest Tokens of his Power and Glory; so the Majesty of a Prince is resplendent on Earth, as he is his Representative and Vice-gerent.

Who doth like God most Righteous Laws dispense.

Viz. Such a one as is endowed with the Wildom and Understanding of the Deity, but pretends not to brandish his Scepter, Thunder or Trident, as some here vainly caused themselves to be painted in such a Posture; thereby exposing their egregious Folly to the World, in affecting that which they are not able to attain to: For God cannot but be incensed against those that presume to imitate him, in producing Thunder, Lightnings and in such like Works of his Omnipotence; but if any strive to emulate his Goodness and Mercy, being well pleased with their Endeavours, he will assist them, and will endue them with his Justice, Truth and Gentleness, then which, nothing can be more Sacred and pure; not Fire, not Light, not the Course of the Sun, not the Rising and Setting of the Stars, nor even Eternity and Immortality it self: For God is not only happy by reason of the Duration of his Being, but because of the Excellency of his Vertue, this is properly Divine and Transcendent, and that is also good which is govern'd by it. *Anaxarchus* endeavouring to comfort *Alexander* who was very much afflicted for the Murther he had committed on the Person of *Clitus*, told him, that Justice required it, and that the Gods had determined, that whatsoever was done by a King, should be accounted Lawful

Lawful and Just ; but by this means he indiscreetly prevented his Repentance, and encouraged him to attempt the committing the like Crimes again. But if we may be permitted to guess at these Matters, *Jupiter* hath not Justice for an Assessor or Counsellor, but is himself Justice and Right, and the Original and Perfection of all Laws ; and therefore the Ancients devised and taught these things, that they might thereby shew, that *Jupiter* himself could not Rule well without Justice, for she is (according to *Hesiod*) a pure and undefiled Virgin, and the Companion of Modesty, Chastity and

a Instead of *ἀρεταίαι*, I read *ἀρεταίαι*. *a* Simplicity ; hence Kings are called Venerable ; for they deserve most Veneration that fear least ; but a Prince ought to be more afraid of doing Ill, than of suffering, for this is the Cause of the other, and this is a noble and generous sort of Fear, well becoming a Prince ; to be solicitous least any Harm should befall his Subjects unawares, and not expected.

*As faithful Dogs surpriz'd with sudden Fear,
When once they see the Savage Beasts appear,
Not for themselves, but of their Flocks take care.*

Epaminondas, when on a certain Festival Day, the *Thebans* gave themselves up wholly to Drinking and Carousing, went about alone and view'd the Arsenal and the Walls of the City, saying, That he was Sober and Vigilant, that others might have Liberty to be Drunk and to sleep. And *Cato* at *Utica*, when he called together by Proclamation, all his Souldiers that had escaped the Slaughter, to the Sea-side, caused them to embark in Ships and having prayed for their prosperous Voyage, returned home and kill'd himself, leaving an Example to Princes, for whom they ought to fear, and what they ought to condemn. *Clearchus*, King of *Pontus*,

tus, creeping into a Chest, slept therein like a Snake; and *Aristodemus* lay with his Concubine in a Bed, plac'd in an upper Room over a Trap door, her Mother removing the Ladder as soon as they were got up, and bringing it again in the Morning: How then did he fear to be seen in the Theatre, in the Judgment Hall, in the Court, or at a Feast, who had turned his Bed-Chamber into a Prison? For indeed good Princes are possessed with Fear for their Subjects, but Tyrants are afraid of them, insomuch that their Timorousness encreaseth with their Power, since by how much the more People they have under their Dominion, so much the more Objects they see of Dread and Terror. Neither is it probable nor convenient (as some Philosophers affirm) that God should be mingled together with Matter that is altogether passive, and obnoxious to innumerable Necessities, Chances and Mutations; but to us he seems to be placed somewhere above with an eternal Nature, that always operates after the same manner, and proceeding (as *Plato* saith) on Sacred Foundations, according to Nature, brings his Works to Perfection: And as he hath placed the Sun in the Firmament, as a clear Image of his most Sacred and Glorious Essence, in which, as through a Glass, he exhibits himself to the Contemplation of Wise Men: So in like manner the Splendor of Justice that appears in some Cities, is a Kind of Representation of the Divine Wisdom, which happy and prudent Persons describe by the help of Philosophy, addicting themselves to the Study of things of a most sublime and excellent Nature. It is certain that this Disposition of Mind cannot be attained but by the Doctrine of Philosophy; otherwise we shall lye under the same Circumstances as *Alexander*, who seeing *Diogenes* at *Corinth*, and being astonished at his Ingenuity and Majestic Gravity, let fall this Expression, *If I were not Alexander, I would choose to be Diogenes*; for being almost

most oppress'd with the Weight of his own Grandeur and Power, which are the Impediments of Vertue and Meditation, he seem'd to envy the Happines of a Threadbare Cloak and Pouch, with which the *Cynic* rendred himself as invincible, as he could be with all his Armor, Horses and Spears: However, he had an Opportunity to Philosophize, and to become *Diogenes* in his Mind, though he remained *Alexander* in his outward State and Condition; and he might more easily be *Diogenes*, because he was *Alexander*, forasmuch as to keep the Vessel of his prosperous Fortune steady, which was toss'd with the Winds and Waves, he stood in need of a good quantity of Ballast, and of a skilful Pilot: Amongst the mean and inferior sort of People, Folly mingled with Weakness is destitute of an Ability to do Mischief, and the Mind is vexed and distracted by it as a distemper'd Brain is with troublesom Dreams; inso-much that it hath not strength enough to execute what it desires; but Power joyned with a corrupt and deprived Inclination, adds the Fuel of Madness to the Fire of the Passions; so true is that Saying of *Dionysius*, who declared that he then chiefly enjoyed his Authority, when he speedily performed what he design'd; but herein lyes the greatest Danger, lest he that is able to do all things that he desires, should desire those things that he ought not,

The Word's no sooner said but th' Act is done.

Vice being furnished with Wheels by Power, sets all the Faculties of the Soul in a violent Fermentation; of Anger it makes Murther, of Love Adultery, and of Covetousness, the Confiscation of other Mens Goods.

The Words no sooner said ———

But

But the Offender is Executed, and the accused Person is put to Death meerly upon Suspicion; and as Naturalists affirm, that the Lightning breaks forth after the Thunder, as the Blood follows the Wound, but is seen first, since whilst the Ear expects the Sound, the Eye discerns the Light, so under some Governments the Punishments precede the Accusation, and the Condemnation prevents the proving of the Crime.

*There Fury reigns, as Cables can't assuage,
Nor Anchors stop the foaming Billows Rage*

Unless this exorbitant Power be restrained and kept within its due Bounds by the force of sound Reason. Therefore a Prince ought to imitate the Sun, which being come to its greatest height in the Northern Signs, moves slowest, whereby he renders his Course the more safe: For 'tis not possible that the Vices and Faults of Persons in Authority can be concealed in Obscurity; but as People that are troubled with the Falling-Sickness, if they wander about in the Cold, are seized with a Giddiness in the Head, and a Dimness in the Sight, which are the usual Symptoms of that Disease; so Fortune, when she hath a little exalted illiterate and foolish Men with Riches, Glory or Authority, suddenly hastens their Ruin: And as amongst empty Vessels, it cannot easily be discerned which are whole and which are leaky, but by the pouring in of any Liquor; so corrupt and exulcerated Minds, after the Infusion of Power, are not able to contain it, but immediately overflow with Concupiscence, Anger, Arrogance and Folly. And what need is there of mentioning these Particulars? since the least Faults and Miscarriages of renowned and famous

370 *A Discourse to an unlearned Prince.* Vol.IV.
Men lye under the lash of Slander and Calumny;
Cimon was accused for being too much addicted
to the Drinking of Wine, *Scipio* was blamed for
delighting in immoderate Sleep, and *Lucullus* for
making too liberal and costly Entertainments.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals :

Vol. IV.

Of Herodotus's Malice.

*Translated out of the Original Greek;
by A. G. Gent.*

THE Stile, O *Alexander*, of *Herodotus*, as being simple, free and easily suiting it self to its Subject, has deceived *many*; but *more* a Perswasion of his Dispositions being equally sincere. For 'tis not only (as *Plato* says) an extreme Injustice, to make a shew of being Just, when one is not so; but 'tis also the highest Malignity, to pretend to Simplicity and Mildness, and be in the mean time really most Malicious. Now since he principally exerts his Malice against the *Beotians* and *Corinthians*, though without sparing any other, I think my self oblig'd to defend our Ancestors and the Truth against this part of his Writings, since those, who would detect all his other Lies and Fictions, would have need of many Books. But, as *Sophocles* has it, *the Face of Perswasion is prevalent*, especially when deliver'd in good Language, and such as has Power to conceal both the other Absurdities, and the ill Nature of the Writer. King *Philip* told the *Greeks*, who revolted from him to *Titus Quintius*, that they had got a more polish, but a

longer-lasting Yoke : So the Malice of *Herodotus* is indeed more polite and delicate then that of *Theopompus*, yet it pinches closer, and makes a more severe Impression, not unlike to those Winds, which blowing secretly through narrow Chinks, are sharper then those that are more diffus'd. Now it seems to me very convenient to delineate, as it were in a rough Draught, those Signs and Marks that distinguish a malicious Narration from a candid and unbiass'd one, applying afterwards every Point we shall examin, to such as appertain to them.

First then, Whoever in relating a Story shall use odious Terms, when gentler Expressions might do as well, he is not to be esteemed impartial, but an Enjoyer of his own Fancy in putting the worst Construction on Things ; as if any one, instead of saying *Nicias* is too precise, should call him Phanatic, or should accuse *Cleon* of Presumption and Madness, rather than of Inconsiderateness in Speech.

Secondly, When a Writer, catching hold of a Fault which has no reference to his Story, shall draw it into the Relation of such Affairs, as need it not, extending his Narrative with Circumlocutions, only that he may insert a Mans Misfortune, Often ceor discommendable Action, 'tis manifest that he delights in speaking Evil. Therefore *Thucydides* would not clearly relate the Faults of *Cleon*, which were very numerous ; and as for *Hyperbolus* the Orator, having toucht at him in a Word, and call'd him an ill Man, he let him go. *Philistus* also pats'd over all those Outrages committed by *Dionysius* on the *Barbarians*, which had no Connexion with the *Grecian* Affairs. For the Excursions and Digressions of History are principally allow'd for Fables & Antiquities, and sometimes also for Encomiums. But he, who makes Reproaches & Detractions an addition to his Discourse,

seems

seems to incur the *Tragedians* Curse on the *Collector of Mens Calamities*.

Now the Opposites to this is known to every one, as the omitting to relate some good and laudable Action; which, though it may seem not to be reprehensible, yet is then done maliciously, when the Omission happens in a Place, that is pertinent to the History. For to praise unwillingly, is so far from being more Civil than to dispraise willingly, that 'tis perhaps rather more uncivil.

The *Fourth* Sign of a partial Disposition in writing of History, I take to be this, when, a Matter being related in two or more several manners, the Historian shall embrace the worst. Sophisters indeed are permitted for the obtaining either of Profit or Reputation, to undertake the Defence of the worse Cause; for they neither create any firm Belief of the Matter, nor yet do they deny, that they are often pleased in maintaining Paradoxes, and making incredible things appear probable. But an Historian is then just, when he asserts such things, as he knows to be true, and of those, that are uncertain, reports rather the better, than the worse. Nay there are many Writers, who wholly omit the worse. Thus *Ephorus* writes of *Themistocles*, that he was acquainted with the Treason of *Pausanias*, and his Negotiations with the Kings Lieutenants; but that he neither consented to it, nor hearkned to *Pausanias's* Proffers of making him partaker of his Hopes. And *Thucydides* left the whole Matter out of his Story, as judging it to be false. Moreover in things, confess'd to have been done, but of doing which the Cause and Intention is unknown, he, who casts his Conjectures on the worse side, is partial and malicious. Thus do the *Comedians*, who affirm the *Peloponnesian* War to have been kindled by *Pericles* for the Love of *Aspasia*, or the Sake of *Phidias*, and not through any Desire of Honour or Ambition of pulling

down the *Peloponnesians* Pride, and giving place in nothing to the *Lacedæmonians*. For those who suppose a bad Cause for laudable Works and commendable Actions, endeavouring by Calumnies to insinuate sinister Suspicions of the Actor, when they cannot openly discommend the Act; as they, that impute the Killing of *Alexander* the Tyrant by *Theba* not to any Magnanimity, or Hatred of Vice, but to a certain feminine Jealousie and Passion; and those, that say, *Cato* slew himself for fear, *Cæsar* should put him to a more shameful Death: such as these are manifestly in the highest degree envious and malicious.

An Historical Narration is also more or less guilty of Malice, according as it relates the manner of the Action; as if one should be said to have perform'd an Exploit rather by Money, than Vertue, as some affirm of *Philip*; or else easily, and without any Labour, as 'tis said of *Alexander*; or else not by Prudence, but Fortune, as the Enemies of *Timotheus* painted Cities falling into his Nets, as he lay sleeping; for they undoubtedly diminish the Greatness and Beauty of the Actions, who deny the Performers of them to have done them generously, industriously, virtuously and by themselves.

Moreover, those who will directly speak ill of any one, incur the Reproach of Moroseness, Rashness, Madness, unless they keep within Measure. But they who send forth Calumnies obliquely, as if they were shooting Arrows out of Corners, and then stepping back, think to conceal themselves by saying, they do not believe, what they most earnestly desire to have believ'd, whilst they disclaim all Malice, condemn themselves also farther of Disingenuity. Next to these are they, who with their Reproaches intermix some Praises; as did *Aristoxenus*, who, having term'd *Socrates* Unlearned, Ignorant and Labidinous, added, *Yet was he free from Injustice*. For, as they who flatter artificially
and

and craftily, sometimes mingle light Reprehensions with their many and great Praises, joyning this Liberty of Speech, as a Sauce to their Flattery : so Malice, that it may gain Belief to its Accusations, adds also Praise. We might here also reckon up more Notes, but these are sufficient to let us understand the Nature and Manners of *Herodotus*.

First therefore, beginning, as the Proverb is, with *Vesta*, whereas all the *Grecians* affirm *Io*, Daughter to *Inachus*, to have been worshipt with Divine Honour by the *Barbarians*, for her Glory, to have left her Name to many Seas and principal Ports, and to have given a Source and Original to most Noble and Royal Families ; this famous Author says of her, that she gave her self to certain *Phenician* Merchants, having been not unwillingly deflowr'd by a Mariner, and fearing, lest she should be found by her Friends to be with Child. And he belyes the *Phenicians*, as having deliver'd these things of her, and says, that the *Persian* Stories testifie her being carry'd away by the *Phenicians* with other Women. Presently after he gives Sentence on the bravest and greatest Exploits of *Greece*, saying, that the *Trojan* War was foolishly undertaken for an ill Woman. For 'tis manifest, says he, that had they not been willing, they had never been ravish'd. Let us then say, that the Gods also acted foolishly, in inflicting their Indignation on the *Spartans*, for abusing the Daughters of *Skedafus* the *Leuctrian*, and in punishing *Ajax* for the Violation of *Cassandra*. For 'tis manifest, if we believe *Herodotus*, that, if they had not been willing, they had never been defil'd. And yet he himself said, that *Aristomenes* was taken alive by the *Spartans* ; and the same afterwards hapned to *Philopemen*, Prætor of the *Achaïans* ; and the *Carthaginians* took *Regulus*, the Consul of the *Romans* ; than whom there are not easily to be found more valiant and warlike Men. Nor is it to be wondred, since

the very Leopards and Tigers are taken alive by Men. But *Herodotus* blames the poor Women that have been abus'd by Violence, and Patronize their Ravishers. Nay, he is so favorable to the *Barbarians*, that acquitting *Busris* of those Human Sacrifices, and that Slaughter of his Guests, for which he is accus'd, and attributing by his Testimony to the *Aegyptians* much Religion and Justice, he endeavours to cast that abominable Wickedness, and those impious Murthers on the *Grecians*. For in his Second Book, he says, that *Menelaus* having received *Helena* from *Proteus*, and been honour'd by him with many Presents, shew'd himself a most unjust and wicked Man. For wanting a fit Wind to set Sail, he found out an impious Device, and having taken two of the Inhabitants Boys, consulted their Entrals; for which Villany being hated and persecuted, he fled with his Ships directly into *Africa*. From what *Aegyptian* this Story proceeds, I know not. For on the contrary many Honours are even at this day given by the *Aegyptians* both to *Helena* and *Menelaus*. The same *Herodotus*, that he may still be like himself, says, that the *Persians* learnt the Defiling of the Male Sex from the *Greeks*. And yet how could the *Greeks* have taught this Impurity to the *Persians*, amongst whom, 'tis confess'd by all, that Boys were castrated, before ever they arriv'd in the *Grecian* Seas? He writes also, that the *Greeks* were instructed by the *Aegyptians* in their Poms, Solemn Festivals, and Worshipping of the twelve Gods: that *Melampus* also learnt of the *Aegyptians* the Name of *Dionysius* [or *Bacchus*] and taught it the other *Greeks*; that the Mysteries likewise and Rites of *Ceres* were brought out of *Aegypt* by the Daughters of *Danaus*; and that the *Aegyptians* were wont to beat themselves and make great Lamentation, but yet would not tell the Names of their Deities, but conceal'd them in Silence. As to *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, whom the *Aegyptians* nam'd Gods, and the *Greeks* very aged Men,

Men, he no where makes use of this Distinction, although he places also the *Ægyptian Hercules* amongst the Gods of the second Rank, and *Bacchus* amongst those of the third, as who had some Beginning of their Being, and were not Eternal, and yet he pronounces those to be Gods, but to these as having been Mortal, and being now Demi-Gods, he thinks we ought to perform Anniversary Solemnities, but not to Sacrifice to them as to Gods. The same also he said of *Pan*, overthrowing the most venerable and purest Sacrifices of the *Greeks* by the proud Vanities and Mythologies of the *Ægyptians*. Nor is this impious enough. But moreover, deriving the Pedigree of *Hercules* from *Perseus*, he says, that *Perseus* was an *Assyrian*, as the *Persians* affirm. But the *Leaders*, says he, of the *Dorians* may appear to be descended in a right Line from the *Ægyptians*, reckoning their Ancestors from before *Danae* and *Acrisius*. For he has wholly pass'd by *Epaphus*, *Io*, *Jasus* and *Argus*, being not only ambitious to make the other *Herculeses* *Ægyptians* and *Phenicians*, but to carry this also, whom himself says to have been the third, out of *Greece* to the *Barbarians*. But of the ancient learned Writers, neither *Homer*, nor *Hesiod*, nor *Archilochus*, nor *Pisander*, nor *Stesichorus*, nor *Alcman*, nor *Pindar*, make any mention of the *Ægyptian* or *Phenician Hercules*, but do all acknowledge this our one *Bæotian* and *Argive Hercules*. Now of the seven Sages, whom he calls Sophisters, he affirms *Thales* to have been a *Barbarian*, descended of the *Phenicians*. Speaking ill also of the Gods under the Person of *Solon*, he has these Words: *Thou, O Cræsus, askst me concerning Human Affairs, who knows, that every one of the Deities is envious and tumultuous.* Thus attributing to *Solon*, what himself thinks of the Gods, he joyns Malice to Blasphemy. Having made use also of *Pittacus* in some trivial Matters, not worth the mentioning, he has pass'd over the greatest and gallantest Action that was ever done by him.

him. For when the *Athenians* and *Mitylenians* were at War about the *Sigæum*, *Phegnon*, the *Athenians* General, challenging, whoever would come forth, to a single Combat, *Pittacus* advanc'd to meet him, and catching him in a Net, slew that stout and giant-like Man: For which, when the *Mitylenians* offer'd him great Presents, darting his Javelin, as far as he could, out of his Hand, he desir'd only so much Ground, as he should reach with that Throw, the Place being to this Day called *Pittacium*. Now what does *Herodotus*, when he comes to this? Instead of *Pittacus's* valiant Act, he tells us the Flight of *Alceus* the Poet, who, throwing away his Arms, ran out of the Battle; by this his not writing of honorable Deeds, and not passing over such, as are dishonorable, giving his Testimony to those, who say, that from one and the same Malice proceed both Envy, and a Rejoycing at other Mens Harms.

After this, he accuses of Treason the *Alcmæonidae*, who shew'd themselves generous Men, and deliver'd their Country from Tyranny. He says, that they receiv'd *Pisistratus* after his Banishment, and got him call'd Home, on condition he should marry the Daughter of *Magacles*; but that the Damsel saying to her Mother, *Do you see, Mother, how I am contrary to Nature, known by Pisistratus?* The *Alcmæonide* were so offended at this Villany, that they expell'd the Tyrant. Now that the *Lacedæmonians* might have no less Share of his Malice than the *Athenians*, behold how he bespatters *Othryades*, the Man, most admitt'd and honor'd by them. *He only*, says *Herodotus*, *remaining alive of the three hundred, and ashamed to return to Sparta; his Companions being lost, slew himself in the Place.* For having before said, the Victory was doubtful on both sides, he here, by making *Othryades* ashamed, witnesses, that the *Lacedæmonians* were vanquish'd. For 'twas shameful for him to survive, if conquer'd; but glorious if Conqueror. I pass by now, that having re-

presented

presented *Cresus*, as foolish, vainglorious and ridiculous in all things, he makes him, when a Prisoner, to have taught and instructed *Cyrus* who seems to have excell'd all other Kings in Prudence, Vertue and Magnanimity. Having testify'd of the same *Cresus* nothing else that was commendable, but his honouring the Gods with many and great Oblations, he shews that very Act of his to have been the most impious of all. For he says, that he and his Brother *Pantaleon* contended for the Kingdom, while their Father was yet alive; and that *Cresus* having obtain'd the Crown, caus'd a Companion and familiar Friend of *Pantaleons* to be torn in pieces in a Fulling-Mill, and sent Presents, made of his Mony, to the Gods. Of *Deioces* also, the *Median*, who by Vertue and Justice obtain'd the Government, he says, that he got it not by real, but pretended Justice. But I let pass the *Barbarian* Examples, since he has offer'd us Plenty enough in the *Grecian* Affairs. He says, that the *Athenians*, and many other *Ionians* were so asham'd of that Name, that they wholly refus'd to be call'd *Ionians*; and that those, who esteem'd themselves the noblest among them, and descended from the very *Prytaneum* [or *Senate*] of *Athens*, begat Children on *Barbarian* Wives, whose Parents and former Children they had slain; that the Women had therefore made a Law among themselves, confirm'd it by Oath, and deliver'd it to be kept by their Daughters, never to eat with their Husbands, nor to call any of them by his Name, and that the present *Milesians* are descended from these Women. Having afterwards added, that those are true *Ionians*, who celebrate the Feast call'd *Apaturia*: They all, says he, keep it, except the *Ephesians* and *Colophonians*: In this manner does he deprive these two States of their Nobility. He says moreover, that the *Cumians* and *Mitylenians* agreed with *Cyrus*, to deliver up to him for a Price *Pactyas*, who had revolted from him: I know

not indeed, says he, for how much, since 'tis not certain what it was. But he ought not to have cast such an Infamy on a Grecian City, without a more assured Knowledge. He says farther, that the *Chians* drew *Pactyas*, who was brought to them out of the Temple of *Minerva Poliuchus* [or Guardiansess of the City] and deliver'd him up, having receiv'd the Field *Atarnes* for their Recompence; and yet *Charon* the *Lampsacanian*, a more ancient Writer, relating this Matter concerning *Pactyas*, charges neither the *Mitylenians* nor the *Chians* with any such Action. These are his very Words. *Pactyas*, hearing, that the Persian Army drew near, fled first to *Mitylene*, then to *Chios*, and fell into the Hands of *Cyrus*.

Our Author in his third Book, relating the Expedition of the *Lacedemonians* against the Tyrant *Polycrates*, affirms, that the *Samians* think and say, that the *Spartans*, to recompence them for their former Assistance against the *Messenians*, both brought back the *Samians*, that were banish'd, and made War on the Tyrant. But that the *Lacedemonians* deny this, and say, they undertook not this Design to help or deliver the *Samians*, but to punish them for having taken away a Cup sent by them to *Cresus*; and besides, a Breast-plate sent them by *Amasis*. And yet we know, that there was not at that time any City, so desirous of Honour, or such an Enemy to Tyrants, as *Sparta*. For what Breast-plate or Cup was the Cause of their driving the *Clypseliæ* out of *Corinth* and *Ambracia*, *Lygdamis* out of *Naxos*, the Children of *Pisistratus* out of *Athens*, *Æschines* out of *Sicyon*, *Symmachus* out of *Thajus*, *Aulis* out of *Phœceæ*, and *Aristogenes* out of *Miletus*? and of their overturning the domineering Powers of *Thessaly*, pulling down *Aristodemus* and *Angelus* by the help of King *Leotichides*? which Facts are elsewhere more largely describ'd. Now if *Herodotus* says true, they were in the highest degree guilty

guilty both of Malice and Folly, when denying a most honourable and most just Cause of their Expedition, they confess'd, that in remembrance of a former Injury, and though highly valuing an inconsiderable Matter, they invaded a miserable and afflicted People. Now perhaps he gave the *Lacedæmonians* this Stroke, as directly falling under his Pen; but the City of *Corinth*, which was wholly out of the Course of his Story, he has in his passing by it, as they say, bespatter'd with a most filthy Crime, and most shameful Calumny. *The Corinthians*, says he, *studiously form'd this Journey of the Lacedæmonians, as having themselves also been formerly affronted by the Samians. The Matter was this; Periander, Tyrant of Corinth, sent three hundred Boys, Sons to the principal Men of Corfu, to King Alyattes, to be gelt. These, going ashore in the Island of Samos, were by the Samians taught to sit, as Suppliants, in the Temple of Diana, where they preserv'd them, setting before them for their Food Cakes made of Sesam-Seed and Honey.* This our Author calls an Affront, put by the *Samians* on the *Corinthians*, who therefore instigated the *Lacedæmonians* against them; to wit, because the *Samians* had sav'd the Children of the *Greeks* from being unmann'd. By attributing this Villany to the *Corinthians*, he makes the City more wicked than the Tyrant. He indeed reveng'd himself on those of *Corfu*, who had slain his Son. But what had the *Corinthians* suffer'd, that they should punish the *Samians* for putting an Obstacle to so great a Cruelty and Wickedness? And this, after three Generations, reviving the Memory of an old Quarrel for the Sake of that Tyranny, which they found so grievous and intollerable, that they are still endlessly abolishing all the Monuments and Marks of it, though long since extinct. Such then was the Injury done by the *Samians* to the *Corinthians*. Now what a kind of Punishment was it, the *Corinthians* would have inflicted on them? Had they been indeed angry with the

the *Samians*, they should not have incited, but rather diverted the *Lacedæmonians* from their War against *Polycrates*, that the *Samians* might not by the Tyrants Overthrow, recover Liberty, and be freed from their Slavery. But what is most to be observ'd, why were the *Corinthians* so offended with the *Samians*, that desir'd indeed; but were not able to save the *Cocyreans* Children, and yet were not displeas'd with the *Cnidians*, who both preserv'd them, and restor'd them to their Friends? Nor indeed have the *Corcyreans* any great Esteem for the *Samians* on this Account; but of the *Cnidians* they preserve a Memorial, having granted them several Honors and Priviledges, and made Decrees in their Favour. For these, sailing to *Samos*, drave away *Perianders* Guards from the Temple, and taking the Children aboard their Ships, carry'd them sa'e to *Corfu*, as 'tis recorded by *Antenor* the *Cretan*, & *Dionysius* the *Chalcidian* in his *Foundations*. Now that the *Spartans* undertook not this War on any design of punishing the *Samians*, but to save them by delivering them from the Tyrant, we have the Testimony of the *Samians* themselves. For they affirm, that there is in *Samos* a Monument, erected at the public Charge, and Honours there done to *Archias* a *Spartan*, who fighting valiantly, fell into that Quarrel; for which Cause also his Posterity still keep a familiar and friendly Correspondence with the *Samians*, as *Herodotus* himself witnesses.

In his Fifth Book, he says, that *Calisthenes*, one of the best and noblest Men in *Athens*, perswaded the Priestess *Pythia* to be a false Prophetess, always exhorting the *Lacedæmonians* to free *Athens* from the Tyrants; calumniating this most excellent & just Action by the Imputation of so great a Wickedness and Imposture, and taking from the God the Credit of that true and good Prophesie, besecming even *Themis* her self, who is also said to have joyn'd with him. He says farther, that *Isagoras* prostituted

prostituted his Wife to *Cleomenes*, who came to her. Then, as his manner is, to gain Credit, mixing some Praises with his Reproaches, he says: *Isagoras, The Son of Tisander, was of a Noble Family but I cannot tell the Original of it. His Kinsmen indeed Sacrifice to Jupiter Carinus.* O this pleasant and cunning Scoffer of a Writer, who thus disgracefully sends *Isagoras* to the *Carians*, as it were to the Ravens. As for *Aristogiton*, he puts him not forth at the Back-door, but thrusts him directly out of the Gate into *Phenicia*; saying, that he had his Original from the *Gephyreans*, and that the *Gephyreans* were not, as some think, *Eubeans* or *Eretrians*, but *Phenicians*, as himself is fully perswaded. And since he cannot altogether take from the *Lacedemonians* the Glory of having deliver'd the *Athenians* from the Tyrants, he endeavours to cloud and disgrace that most honorable Act by as foul a Passion. For he says, they presently repented of it, as not having done well, in that they had, by the Inducement of spurious and deceitful Oracles, driven the Tyrants, who were their Allies, and had promis'd to put *Athens* into their Hands, out of their Country, and restor'd the City to an ungrateful People. He adds, that they were about to send for *Hippias* from *Sigæum*, and bring him back to *Athens*; but that they were oppos'd by the *Corinthians*, *Socicles* telling them how much the City of *Corinth* had suffer'd under the Tyranny of *Cyrselus* and *Periander*; and yet there was no Outrage of *Perianders* more abominable and cruel, then his sending the three hundred Children to be emasculated, for the delivering and saving of whom from that Contumely, the *Corinthians*, he says, were angry, and bore a Grudge against the *Samians*, as having put an Affront upon them. With so much Repugnance and Contradiction is that Malice of his Discourse fill'd, which on every Occasion insinuates it self into his Narrations. After this, relating the Action at *Sardis*, he as much as in him lies, diminishes and

and discredits the Matter; being so audacious, as to call the Ships which the *Athenians* sent to the Assistance of the *Ionians*, who had revolted from the King, the Beginning of Evils, because they endeavor'd to deliver so many and so great *Grecians* Cities from the *Barbarians*. As to the *Eretrians*, making mention of them only by the way he passes over in Silence, a great, gallant and memorable Action of theirs. For when all *Ionia* was in a Confusion [and Uproar] and the Kings Fleet drew nigh, they, going forth to meet him, overcame in a Sea fight the *Cyprians* in the *Pamphilian* Sea. Then turning back, and leaving their Ships at *Ephesus*, they invaded *Sardis*, and besieg'd *Artaphernes*, who was fled into the Castle, that so they might raise the Siege of *Miletus*. And this indeed they affected, causing the Enemies [to break up their Camp, and] remove thence in a wonderful Fright, and then seeing themselves in danger to be oppress'd by a Multitude retired. This not only others, but *Lyfanius Mallotes*, also in his History of *Eretria* relates, thinking it convenient, if for no other Reason, yet after the taking and destruction of the City, to add this valiant and heroic Act. But this [Writer of ours] says, they were defeated, and pursued even to their Ships by the *Barbarians*, though *Charon* the *Lampsacene* has no such thing, but writes thus word for word; the *Athenians* set forth with twenty Gallies to the Assistance of the *Ionians*, and going to *Sardis*, took all thereabouts, except the Kings [Fortress or] Wall; which having done, they returned to *Miletus*.

In his Sixth Book [our Author] discoursing of the *Plateans*, how they gave themselves to the *Lacedæmonians*, who exhorted them rather to have Recourse to the *Athenians*, who were nearer to them, and no bad Defenders; he adds, not as a Matter of Suspicion or Opinion, but as a thing, certainly known by him, that the

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Lacedæmonians gave the *Platæans* this Advice, not so much for any good Will, as through a Desire to find Work for the *Athenians*, by engaging them with the *Bæotians*. It then *Herodotus* is not Malicious, the *Lacedæmonians* must have been both fraudulent and spiteful, the *Athenians* Fools, in suffering themselves to be thus impos'd on, and the *Platæans* were brought into play, not for any good Will or Respect, but as an Occasion of War. He is farther manifestly convinc'd of belying the *Lacedæmonians*, when he says, that, whilst they expected the Full Moon, they fail'd of giving their Assistance to the *Athenians* at *Marathon*. For they not only made a thousand other Excursions and Fights at the beginning of the Month, without staying for the Full Moon; but wanted so little of being present at this very Battle, which was fought the sixth Day of the Month *Boedromion*, that at their coming they found the Dead still lying in the Field. And yet he has written thus of the Full Moon. 'Twas impossible for them to do these things at that present, being unwilling to break the Law; for 'twas the beginning of the Month, and they said, they could not go forth on the ninth Day, the Orb of the Moon being not yet full. And therefore they stay'd for the Full Moon. But thou [O *Herodotus*!] transferrest the Full Moon to the Beginning of the Month, when she is but yet in her first Quarter, and at the same time confoundest the Heavens, Days and all things. And professing to write of the Greek Affairs, but more particularly and carefully those of *Athens*, thou dost not so much as say a Word of that solemn Pomp, which the *Athenians*, even at this Day, send to *Agra*, celebrating a Feast of Thanks, giving to *Hecate* for their Victory. But this helps *Herodotus* to reset the Crime, with which he is charg'd, of having flatter'd the *Athenians* for a great Sum of Money, he receiv'd of them. For if he had rehears'd these things to them, they would not have omitted or

neglected that wicked *Philippides*, who, going from the Fight, call'd the *Lacedamonians* to it, especially since he went, as himself says, in two Days from *Athens* to *Sparta*; unless the *Athenians* sent for their Allies to the Fight, after their Enemies were overcome. Indeed *Diyllus* the *Athenian*, none of the most contemptible Historians, says, that he received from *Athens* a Present of ten Talents, *Anytus* proposing the Decree. Moreover *Herodotus*, as many say, has in relating the Fight at *Marathon*, derogated from the Credit of it, by the Number he sets down of the Slain. For he writes, that the *Athenians* made a Vow to Sacrifice so many Kids to *Diana Agrotera*, as they should kill *Barbarians*; but that after the Fight, the Number of the Dead appearing infinite, they appeas'd the Goddess by making a Decree, to immolate five hundred to her every year. But letting this pass, let us see, what was done after the Fight. The *Barbarians*, says he, retiring back with the rest of their Ships, and taking the *Eretrian Slaves* out of the Island, where they had left them, doubled the Point of *Sunium*, desiring to prevent the *Athenians*, before they could gain the City. The *Athenians* suspected this to have been done by a Plot of the *Alcmaeonidae*, who by Agreement shew'd a Shield to the *Persians* when they were got into their Ships. They therefore doubled the Cape of *Sunium*. Let us in this place take no notice of his calling the *Eretrians* Slaves, who shew'd as much Courage and Gallantry in this War, as any other of the *Grecians*, and suffer'd things, unworthy their Vertue. Nor let us insist much on the Calumny, with which he defames the *Alcmaeonide*, of whom, were both the greatest Families, and noblest Men of the City. The Greatness of the Victory it self is overthrown, and the End of that so celebrated Action comes to nothing; nor does it seem to have been a Fight, or any great Exploit; but only a light Skirmish with the *Barbarians*, as the Envious and

Ill-willers affirm, if they did not after the Battle fly away, cutting their Cables, and giving themselves to the Wind, for to carry them as far as might be from the *Attic Coast*; but having a Shield lifted up to them as a Signal of Treason, made straight with their Fleet for *Athens*, in hope to surprize it, and having at leisure doubled the Point of *Sunium*, were discovered above the Port *Phalerus*, so that the Chief and most Illustrious Men, despairing to save the City, would have betray'd it: for a little after, acquitting the *Alcmaeonidae*, he charges others with the Treason. *For the Shield indeed was shewn, nor can it be deny'd*, says he, as if he had seen it himself. But this could no way be, since the *Athenians* obtain'd a solid Victory; and if it had been done, it could not have been seen by the *Barbarians*, flying in an Hurry amidst Wounds and Arrows into their Ships, and leaving every one the Place with all possible speed. But when he again pretends to excuse the *Alcmaeonidae* of those Crimes, which he, first of all Men, objected against them, he speaks thus: *I cannot bear this Discourse, that the Alcmaeonidae by agreement, lifted up a Shield to the Persians, and would have brought the Athenians under the Power of the Barbarians and Hippias*. I remember a certain Clause [the Tenor of which, is this:] *You will take me, and having taken me, let me go*. Thus you first Accuse, then Apologize, and write Calumnies against Illustrious Men, which again you refuse; to wit, discrediting your self. For you heard your self say, that the *Alcmaeonidae* lifted up a Shield to the vanquish'd and flying *Barbarians*. And in those very things, which you alledge for the *Alcmaeonidae*, you shew your self a Sycophant. For if, as here you write, the *Alcmaeonidae* were more, or no less Enemies to Tyrants, than *Callias* the Son of *Phanippus*, and Father of *Hipponicus*, where will you place their Conspiracy, of which you write in your former Books, that assisting *Pisistratus*, they brought him

back from Exile to the Tyranny, and did not drive him away, till he was accus'd of unnaturally abusing his Wife? Such then are the Repugnancies of these things, and by his intermixing the Praises of *Callias*, the Son of *Phæmippus*, amidst the Crimes and Suspicions of the *Alcæonide*, and joyning to him his Son *Hipponicus*, who was, as *Herodotus* himself says, one of the richest Men in *Athens*, he confesses, that he brought in *Callias*, not for any necessity of the Story, but to ingratiate himself, and gain Favour with *Hipponicus*. Now, whereas all know, that the *Argives* deny not to enter into the common League of the *Grecians*, though they thought not fit to follow, and be under the Command of the *Lacedæmonians*, who were their mortal Enemies, and that this was no other wise, [our Author] subjoyns a most malicious Cause for it, writing thus, *When [they saw] they were comprised by the Greeks, knowing that the Lacedæmonians would not admit them into a share of the Command, they requested it, that they might have a Pretence to lye still.* And of this, he says, the *Argive* Embassadors afterwards put *Artaxerxes* in mind, when they attended him at *Susa*, and that he said, He esteemed no City more his Friend than *Argos*. Then adding, as his Manner is, to cover the Matter, he says. *Of these things I know nothing certainly; but this I know, that all Men have Faults, and that the worst things were not done by the Argives. But I must tell such things as are reported, though I am not bound to believe them all; and let this be understood of all my Narrations.* For 'tis farther said that the *Argives*, when they were not able to sustain the War against the *Lacedæmonians*, call'd the *Persians* into Greece, willing rather to suffer any thing then the present Trouble. Therefore, what himself reports the *Æthiopian* to have said of the Ointment and Purple, *Deceitful are the Beauties, deceitful the Garments of the Persians*; may not any one say the same of him; *deceitful are the Phrases, deceitful the Figures of Herodotus's Speeches*, as
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being perplext, unsound, and full of Ambiguities? For as Painters set off, and render more imminent the luminous part of their Pictures, by adding shadows, so he by his Denials extends his Calumnies, and by his dubious Speeches, makes his Suspicions take deeper Impression. If the *Argives* joyn'd not with the other *Greeks*, but stood out through an Emulation of the *Lacedemonians* Command and Valor, it cannot be deny'd, but that they acted in a manner, not beseeming their Nobility and Descent from *Hercules*. For it had been more honorable for the *Siphnians* and *Cythnians* to have defended the *Grecian* Liberty, then contending with the *Spartans* for Superiority, to have avoided so many, and such signal Combats. And if it were they, who brought the *Persian* into *Greece*, because their War against the *Lacedemonians* succeeded ill, how came it to pass, that they did not at the coming of *Xerxes* openly joyn themselves to the *Medes*? or if they would not fight under the King, why did they not, being left at Home, make Incursions into *Laconia*, or again attempt *Thyreæ*, or by some other way disturb and infest the *Lacedemonians*? Since they might have greatly damaged the *Grecians* by hindring the *Spartans* from going with so great an Army to *Plateæ*. But in this place indeed he has highly magnified the *Athenians*, and pronounc'd them the Saviours of *Greece*, doing herein rightly and justly, if he had not intermixt many Reproaches with their Praises. But now, when he says, that the *Lacedemonians* were betray'd by the other *Greeks*; and that being left alone, and having undertaken great Exploits, they dy'd generoussly, having before seen that the *Greeks*, favouring the *Medes*, held Intelligence with *Xerxes*, 'tis manifest, he speaks not these things so much to the Commendation of the *Athenians*, as that, praising the *Athenians*, he may speak ill of all the rest. For how can any one now be angry with him for so bitterly and outrageously, at every turn, upbraiding

the *Thebans* and *Phocæans*, when he charges even those, who expos'd themselves to all Perils for Greece, with a Treason, which, as himself says, was never acted? Nay, of the *Lacedæmonians* themselves, he makes it doubtful, whether they fell in the Battle, or yielded to the Enemy, distinguishing them by very slight Conjectures from those that were slain at *Thermopylæ*.

After this, when he declares the Shipwrack, that beset the Kings Fleet, and how, an infinite Mass of Wealth being cast away, *Aminocles* the *Magnesian*, Son of *Cresines*, was greatly enriched by it, having gotten an immense Quantity of Gold and Silver; he could not so much as let this pass without snarling at it. For this Man, says he, who had till then been none of the most Fortunate, by those Wrecks became exceeding Rich; for the Misfortune, he had in Killing his Son, much afflicted his Mind. This indeed is manifest to every one, that he brought this golden Treasure, and this Wealth, cast up by the Sea, into his History, that he might make way for the inserting *Aminocles's* Killing his Son. Now, whereas *Aristophanes* the *Bæotian* wrote, that having demanded Money of the *Thebans*, he receiv'd none, and that going about to discourse and reason with the young Men, he was prohibited by the Magistrates through their Clownishness and Hatred of Learning; of which there is no other Argument. But *Herodotus* bears Witness to *Aristophanes*, whilst he charges the *Thebans* with some things falsely, with others ignorantly, and with others, as hating them, and having a Quarrel with them. For he affirms, that the *Thessalians* at first, upon necessity, inclin'd to the *Medes*, in which he says the Truth; and prophesying of the other *Grecians*, that they would betray the *Lacedæmonians*; he added, that they would not do it willingly, but upon Necessity, one City being taken after another. But he does not allow the *Thebans* the same Plea of Necessity, although they sent to Tempt

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five hundred Men under the Command of *Mnamias*, and to *Thermopyle* as many, as *Leonidas* desir'd; who also alone, with the *Thespians*, stood by him, the rest leaving him, after he was surrounded. But when that *Barbarian*, having possess'd himself of the Avenues, was got into their Confines, and *Demaratus* the *Spartan*, favouring in right of Hospitality *Apaginus*, the Chief of the Oligarchy, had so wrought, that he became the Kings Friend and Familiar, whilst the other *Greeks* were in their Ships, and none coming on by Land; then at last being forsaken, did they accept Conditions of Peace, to which they were compell'd by great Necessity. For they had neither the Sea and Ships at hand, as had the *Athenians*, nor did they dwell far off, as the *Spartans*, who inhabited the most remote parts of *Greece*; but were not above a Day and an halfs Journey from the *Medians* Army, whom they had already with the *Spartans* and *Thespians* alone resisted at the Entrance of the Streights, and were defeated. But this Writer is so equitable, that having said the *Lacedemonians* being alone, and deserted by their Allies, would perhaps make a Composition with the Enemy, when he could not wholly obliterate this most great and glorious Act of the *Thebans*, yet went about to deface it with a most vile Imputation and Suspicion, writing thus: *The Confederates, who had been sent, return'd back, obeying the Commands of Leonidas; there remain'd only with the Lacedemonians the Thespians, and the Thebans: of these, the Thebans stay'd against their Wills, for Leonidas retain'd them as Hostages; but the Thespians most willingly, as who said, they would never depart from Leonidas, and those that were with him.* Does he not here manifestly discover himself to have a peculiar Pique and Hatred against the *Thebans*, by the Impulse of which he not only falsly and unjustly calumniated the City, but did not so much as take care to render his Contradiction probable, or to conceal, at

least from a few men, his being conscious of having knowingly contradicted himself? For having before said, that *Leonidas*, perceiving his Confederates not to be in good Heart, nor prepared to undergo Danger, wish'd them to depart; he a little after adds, that the *Thebans* were, against their Wills, detain'd by him; whereas, if he had believ'd them inclin'd to the *Medians*, he should have driven them away, though they had been willing to tarry. For if he thought that those, who were not brisk, would be useless, to what purpose was it to mix among his Soldiers those, that were suspected? Nor was the King of the *Spartans*, and General of all *Greece*, so senseless as to think, that four hundred armed *Thebans* could be detain'd as Hostages, by his three hundred, especially the Enemy being both in his Front and Rear. For though at first he might have taken them along with him as Hostages; 'tis certainly probable, that at last having no regard for him, they would have gone away from him, and that *Leonidas* would have more fear'd being encompass'd by them, than by the Enemy. Furthermore, would not *Leonidas* have been ridiculous, to have sent away the other *Greeks*, as if by staying, they should soon after have dy'd, and to have detain'd the *Thebans*, that being himself about to dye, he might keep them for the *Greeks*? For if he had indeed carry'd them along with him for Hostages, or rather for Slaves, he should not have kept them with those, that were at the point to perish, but have deliver'd them to the *Greeks*, that went away. There remain'd but one Cause, that might be alledg'd for *Leonidas*'s unwillingness to let them go, to wit, that they might dye with him, and this our Historian himself has taken away, writing thus of *Leonidas*'s Ambition: *Leonidas, considering these things, and desirous that this Glory might redound to the Spartans alone sent away his Confederates rather for this, than because they differ'd in their Opinions.* For it had certainly been
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the height of Folly to keep his Enemies against their Wills, to be Partakers of that Glory, from which he drave away his Confederates. But 'tis manifest from the Effects, that, *Leonidas* suspected not the *Thebans* of Insincerity, but esteem'd them to be his stedfast Friends. For he march'd with his Army into *Thebes*, and at his request obtain'd that which was never granted to any other, to sleep within the Temple of *Hercules*, and the next Morning related to the *Thebans* the Vision, that had appear'd to him. For he imagin'd, that he saw the most illustrious and greatest Cities of *Greece*, irregularly toss'd and floating up and down in a very stormy and tempestuous Sea; that *Thebes*, being carry'd above all the rest, was lifted up on high to Heaven, and suddenly after disappear'd. And this indeed had a Resemblance of those things, which long after befel that City. Now *Herodotus* in his Narration of that Fight, hath obscur'd also the bravest Act of *Leonidas*, saying, that they all fell in the Streights near *Colonus*. But the Affair was otherwise manag'd. For when they perceiv'd by Night, that they were encompass'd by the *Barbarians*, they march'd straight to the Enemies Camp, and got very near the Kings Pavilion, with a Resolution to kill him, and leave their Lives about him. They came then to his Tent, killing, or putting to flight all they met. But when *Xerxes* was not found there, seeking him in that vast Camp, and wandring about, they were at last with much difficulty slain by the *Barbarians*, who surround-ed them on every side. What other Acts and Sayings of the *Spartans* *Herodotus* has omitted, we will write in the Life of *Leonidas*. Yet that hinders not, but we may here set down also some few. Before *Leonidas* went forth to that War, the *Spartans* exhibited to him a Funeral Fight, at which the Fathers and Mothers of those who went along with him, were Spectators. *Leonidas* himself, when one said to him, *You lead very few with you*

to the Battle: answered, *They are many to dye there.* When his Wife, at his Departure, ask'd him, what Commands he had for her; he turning to her, said, *I Command you to marry a good Man, and bring him good Children.* After he was enclosed by the Enemy at *Thermopylae*, desiring to save two, that were related to him, he gave one of them a Letter, and sent him away; but he rejected it, saying, angrily, *I follow'd you as a Souldier, not as a Post.* The other commanded on a Message to the Magistrates of *Sparta*; but he answering, *'Tis a Messengers Business,* took his Shield, and stood up in his Rank. Who would not have blam'd another, that should have omitted these things? But he, who has collected and recorded the Part of *Amasis*, the coming of the Thiefs Asses, and the giving of Bottles, and many such like things, cannot seem to have omitted these gallant Acts, and these remarkable Sayings, by Negligence and Over-sight, but as bearing ill Will, and being unjust to some. He says, that the *Thebans*, being at the first with the *Greeks*, fought, but compell'd by Necessity. For belike not only *Xerxes*, but *Leonidas* also, had Whipsters following his Camp, by whom the *Thebans* being scourg'd, were forc'd against their Wills to fight. And he says, that the fought upon Necessity, who might have gone away and fled; and that they inclin'd to the *Medes*, whereas not one came in to help them. After this, he writes, that the rest making to *Colonus*, the *Thebans* separated themselves from them, lifted up their Hands to the *Barbarian*, and coming near, cry'd with a most true Voice, that they had favour'd the *Medes* Affairs, had given Earth and Water to the King, that now being forc'd by Necessity, they were come to *Thermopylae*, and they were innocent of the Kings Wound. Having said these things, they obtain'd Quarter; for they had the *Thessalians* for Witnesses of all they said. Behold, how amidst the *Barbarians* Exclamations, Tumults of all sorts, Flights and Pursuits, their

Apology

Apology was heard, the Witnesses examin'd, and the *Theſſalians* in the miſt of thoſe, that were ſlain and trodden under Foot, all being done in a very narrow Paſſage, Patroniz'd the *Thebans*, to wit, becauſe the *Thebans* had but a little before driven away them, who were poſſeſſ of all *Greece* as far as *Theſſie*, having Conquer'd them in a Battle, and ſlain their Leader *Lattamias*. For thus at that time ſtood Matters between the *Beotians* and the *Theſſalians*, without any Friendſhip or Good Will. But yet how did the *Thebans* eſcape, the *Theſſalians* helping them with their Teſtimonies? *Some of them*, ſays he, were ſlain by the Barbarians. *Many of them were by Command of Xerxes mark'd with the Royal Mark, beginning with their Leader Leontiades*. Now the Captain of the *Thebans* at *Thermopylae*, was not *Leontiades*, but *Anaxander*, as both *Ariſtophanes*, out of the Commentaries of the Magiſtrates, and *Nicander the Colophonian* have taught us. Nor did any Man, before *Herodotus*, know, that the *Thebans* were ſigmatiz'd by *Xerxes*. For otherwiſe this would have been an excellent Plea for them againſt his Calumny, and this City might well have glory'd in theſe Marks, that *Xerxes* had Punish'd *Leonidas* and *Leontiades* as his greateſt Enemies, having outrag'd the Body of the one when he was Dead, and caus'd the other to be tormented, whiſt living. But he, who makes the *Barbarians* Cruilty againſt *Leonidas*, when dead, a Sign, that he hated him moſt of all Men, when living; and yet ſays, that the *Thebans*, though favoring the *Medes*, were ſigmatiz'd by them at *Thermopylae*, and having been thus ſigmatiz'd, again chearfully took their Parts at *Plataea*, ſeems to me not unlike to *Hippoclideſ*, who being told, as he was dancing over the Tables at a Feſtival, that he had danc'd away the Truth, made answer, *Hippoclideſ cares not for that*.

In the Eighth Book, our Author ſays, that the *Greeks* being frighted, deſign'd to fly from *Artemiſium* into *Greece*.

Greece, and that being requested by the *Eubceans* to stay a little, till they could dispose of their Wives and Families, they regarded them not, till such time as *Themistocles*, having taken Mony of them, divided it between *Eurybiades* and *Adimantus*, the Captain of the *Corinthians*, and that then they stay'd, and had a Sea Fight with the *Barbarians*. Yet *Pindar*, who was not a Citizen of any of the Confederate Cities, but of one, that was suspected to take part with the *Medians*, having made mention of *Artemisium*, brake forth into this Exclamation. [*This is the Place*] where the Sons of the Athenians laid the glorious Foundation of Liberty. But *Herodotus*, by whom, as some will have it, Greece is honour'd, makes that Victory a Work of Bribery and Theft, saying, that the *Greeks*, deceiv'd by their Captains, who had to that end taken Mony, fought against their Wills. Nor does he here put an end to his Malice. All Men in a manner confess, that, although the *Greeks* got the better at Sea, they nevertheless abandon'd *Artemisium* to the *Barbarians*, after they had receiv'd the News of the Overthrow at *Thermopylae*. For 'twas to no purpose for them to stay there, and keep the Sea, the War being already within *Pylæ*, and *Xerxes* having possess'd himself of the Avenues. But *Herodotus* makes the *Greeks* contriving to fly, before they heard any thing of *Leonidas's* Death. For thus he says: But they, having been ill treated, and especially the Athenians, half of whose Ships were sorely shatter'd, consulted to take their Flight into Greece. But let him be permitted so to name, or rather to reproach this Retreat of theirs before the Fight; for having before call'd it a *Flight*, he both now styles it a *Flight*, and will again a little after term it a *Flight*; so bitterly does he adhere to this Word *Flight*. Presently after this [says he] there came to the *Barbarians* in the Pinnace a Man of *Hellinax*, who acquainted them with the Flight of the Grecians from *Artemisium*.

misium. *They, because the thing seem'd incredible, kept the Messenger in Custody, and sent forth some light Gallies to discover the Truth.* But what is this you say? That they fled as conquer'd, whom the Enemies after the Fight could not believe to have fled, as having got much the better; Is then this [a Fellow] fit to be believ'd, when he writes of any Man or City, who in one Word deprives *Greece* of the Victory, throws down the Trophy, and pronounces the Inscriptions, they had set up to *Diana* on the East Side of *Artemisium*, to be nothing but Pride and vain Boasting? The Tenor of the Inscription was, as follows,

When Athens Youth had in a Naval Fight
All Asia's Forces on this Sea o'rethrown,
And the Medes Army put to Flight,
Then which a greater scarce was ever known,
To shew, how much Diana they respected,
This Trophy to her Honour they erected.

Moreover, not having describ'd any Order of the *Greeks*, nor told us, what Place every City of theirs held during the Sea fight, he says, that in this Retreat, which he calls their Flight, the *Corinthians* sail'd first, and the *Athenians* last. He indeed ought not to have too much insulted over the *Greeks*, that took part with the *Medes*, who, being by others thought a *Thurian*, reckons himself among the *Halicarnasseans*, which, being *Dorians* by Descent, went with their Wives and Children to the War against the *Greeks*. But he is so far from giving first an Account of the Streights, they were in, who revolted to the *Medes*, that relating how the *Thessalians* sent to the *Phocæans*, which were their mortal Enemies, and promis'd to preserve their Country free from all Damage, if they might receive from them a Reward of fifty Talents, he writ thus of the *Phocæans*: *For the Phocæans were the only People in these Quarters, who inclin'd*

clin'd not to the Medians, and that, as far as I upon due consideration can find, for no other Reason, but because they hated the Thessalians; for if the Thessalians had been affected to to the Grecian Affairs, I suppose the Phocæans would have joyn'd themselves to the Medes. And yet a little after he will say, that thirteen Cities of the *Phocæans* were burnt by the *Barbarians*, their Country laid wast, and the Temple, which was in *Abes*, set on fire, and all of both Sexes put to the Sword, except those, that by Flight escap'd to *Parnassus*. Nevertheless, he puts those, who suffered all Extremities rather than they would lose their Honesty, in the same Rank with those, who most affectionately sided with the *Medians*. And when he could not blame the *Phocæans* Actions, he devis'd false Causes, framing Suspicions against them with his Pen, and judging them, not by what they did, but by the Construction, put on their Intentions by the *Thessalians*, who gap'd after their Dominions, as if they therefore refused to enter into the Treason, because others had prevented them. Now if any one, going about to excuse the Revolt of the *Thessalians* to the *Medes*, should say, that they would have done it, but for the Hatred, they bare the *Phocæans*, who when they saw joyn'd to the *Greeks*, they, against their Inclinations, followed the Party of the *Medes*; would not such an one be thought most shamefully to flatter, and for the Sake of others, to pervert the Truth, by feigning good Causes for evil Actions? Indeed, I think, he would, why then should not he be thought openly to calumniate, who says, that the *Phocæans* chose the best, not for the Love of Vertue, but because they saw the *Thessalians* on the contrary side? For neither does he refer this Device to other Authors, as he is elsewhere wont to do, but says, that himself found it out by Conjecture. He should therefore have produc'd certain Arguments, by which he was perswaded, that they, who did things like the best followed the same

same Counsels with the worst. For what he alledges of their Enemies, is ridiculous. For neither did the Difference between the *Aeginetæ* and the *Athenians*, nor that between the *Chalcidians* and the *Eretrians*, nor yet that between the *Corinthians* and the *Megarians*, hinder them from fighting together for *Greece*. Nor did the *Macedonians*, their most bitter Enemies, plaguing the *Thessalians*, divert them from their Friendship with the *Barbarians*. For the common Danger did so bury their private Grudges, that banishing their other Passions, they apply'd their Minds either to Honesty, for the Sake of Virtue, or to profit through the Impulse of Necessity. And indeed after that Necessity, which compell'd them to obey the *Medians*, was over, they return'd again to the *Greeks*, as *Laocrates* the *Spartan* has openly testified of them. And *Herodotus*, as constrain'd to it, in his Relation of the Affairs at *Platææ*, confess'd that the *Phocæans* took part with the *Greeks*. Neither ought it to seem strange to any, if he thus bitterly inveighs against the Unfortunate; since he reckons amongst Enemies and Traytors those, who were present at the Engagement, and together with the other *Greeks*, hazarded their Safety. For the *Naxians*, says he, sent three Ships to the Assistance of the *Barbarians*, but *Democritus*, one of their Captains, perswaded the other two to take the Party of the *Greeks*. So unable he is to praise without dispraising, that if he commends one Man, he must condemn a whole City or People. But in this there gives Testimony against him, of the more ancient Writers, *Hallanicus*, and of the later, *Ephorus*, one of which says, that the *Naxians* came with six Ships to aid the *Greeks*, and the other with five. And *Herodotus* convinces himself of having feign'd these things. For the Writers of the *Naxian* Annals say, that they had before beaten back *Megabates*, who came to their Island with two hundred Ships; and after that, put to flight the General *Datis*, who had set their City on Fire.

Fire. Now if, as *Herodotus* has elsewhere said, the *Barbarians* burnt their City, so that the Men were glad to save themselves by flying into the Mountains; had they not just Cause rather to send Aid to the Destroyers of their Country, then to help the Protectors of the common Liberty? But that he fram'd this Lye, not so much to honor *Democritus*, as to cast Infamy on the *Naxians*, is manifest from his omitting and wholly passing over in Silence the valiant Acts then perform'd by *Democritus*, of which *Simonides* gives us an Account in this Epigram.

*When as the Greeks at Sea the Medes did meet,
And had neer Salamis a Naval Fight,
Democritus third time led up the Fleet,
Charging the Enemy with all his Might,
He took five of their Ships, and did another,
Which they had taken from the Greeks, recover.*

But why should any one be angry with him about the *Naxians*? If we have, as some say, *Antipodes* inhabiting the other Hemisphere; I believe, that they also have heard of *Themistocles* and his Counsel, which he gave the *Greeks* to fight a Naval Battel before *Salamis*, where the *Barbarian* being overcome, he built in *Malta* a Temple to *Diana* the Councillor. This gentle Writer, endeavouring, as much as in him lies, to deprive *Themistocles* of the Glory of this, and transfer it to another, writes thus Word for Word: *Whilst things were thus, Mneciphilus, an Athenian, askt Themistocles, as he was going aboard his Ship, what had been resolv'd on in Council. And being answer'd, that 'twas decreed, the Ships should be brought back to Isthmus, and a Battle fought at Sea before Peloponnetus; he said, If then they remove the Navy from Salamis, you, Themistocles, shall never fight for your Country; for they will every one return to his own City. Wherefore if there be any may lest, go, and endeavour to break*
this

this Resolution, and if it be possible, perswade Euribyades to change his Mind and stay here. Then adding, that this Advice pleas'd Themistocles, who, without making any Reply, went straight to Euribyades, he has these very Expressions. And sitting by him, related, what he had heard from Mnesiphilus, feigning as if it came from himself, and adding other things. You see how he accuses Themistocles of Disingenuity in arrogating to himself the Counsel of Mnesiphilus. And further deriding the Greeks, he says, that Themistocles, who was call'd another Ulysses for his Witdom, was so blind, that he could not foresee, what was fit to be done. But that Artemisia, who was of the same City with Herodotus, without being taught by any one, but by her own Consideration, said thus to Xerxes. The Greeks will not long be able to hold out against you; nor is it probable, if you march your Army by Land to Peloponnesus, that they will sit still, or take care to fight at Sea for the Athenians. But if you make haste to give them a Naval Battle, I fear, lest your Fleets receiving Damage, may prove also very prejudicial to your Land-Forces. Certainly Herodotus wanted nothing but Verses to make Artemisia another Sibyl, so exactly prophesying of things to come. Therefore Xerxes also deliver'd his Children to her to be carry'd to Ephesus; for he had (it seems) forgot to bring Women with him from Susa, if indeed they wanted a Train of Female Attendants. But 'tis not our Design to search into the Lies of Herodotus; we only make inquiry into those, which he invented, to detract from the Glory of others. He says, 'tis reported by the Athenians, that Admantus, Captain of the Corinthians, when the Enemies were now ready to joyn Battel, was struck with such Fear and Astonishment, that he fled; not thrusting his Ship backward at the Stern, or leisurely retreating through those, that were engag'd, but openly hoisting up his Sails, and turning the Heads of all his Vessels. And that about the farther

part of the *Salaminian* Coast, he was met by a Pinnace, out of which one spake thus to him: *Thou indeed Adimantus, fly'st having betray'd the Grecians, yet they overcome and according to their Desires have the better of their Enemies.* This Pinnace certainly was let down from Heaven. For what should hinder him from erecting a Tragical Machine, who by his Boasting excell'd the *Tragadians* in all other things? *Adimantus* then crediting him, return'd to the Fleet, when the Business was already done. *This Report*, says he, *is deliver'd by the Athenians; but the Corinthians deny it, and say, they were the first at the Sea-fight, for which they have the Testimony of all the other Greeks.* Such is this Man in many other Places: He spreads different Calumnies and Accusations of different Men, that he may not fail of making some one appear altogether Wicked; as it has succeed'd well with him in this place: for if the Calumny is believ'd, the *Corinthians*; if it is not, the *Athenians* are rendred infamous; or else the *Athenians* did not bely the *Corinthians*, but he has bely'd them both. Certainly *Thucydides*, bringing in an *Athenian* Ambassador, contesting with a *Corinthian* at *Sparta*, and gloriously boasting of many things about the *Median* War, and the Sea-Fight at *Salamis*, charges not the *Corinthians* with any Crime of Treachery, or leaving their Station. Nor was it likely the *Athenians* should object any such thing against *Corinth*, when they saw it engraven in the third place after the *Lacedemonians* and themselves on those Spoils, which, being taken from the *Barbarians*, were consecrated to the Gods. And in *Salamis* they had permitted them to bury the Dead near the City, as being Men, who had behav'd themselves gallantly, and to write over them this Elegy.

*Well water, Corinth us, when living, gave
Abode; now dead, dry Salamis a Grave.*

We,

*We, sacred Greece defending, put to flight
Phœnicia's Ships, did Medes and Persians fight.*

And their Honorary Sepulchre in *Isthmus* has on it this Epitaph.

*We, who all Greece, neer brought to Slavery,
Did with our Lives set free, here bury'd lye.*

Moreover, on the Offerings of *Diodorus*, one of the *Corinthian* Sea-Captains, reserv'd in the Temple of *Latona*, there is this Inscription.

*These, of their Fight with th' Medes a Monument,
Diodores's Sea-men to Lotana sent.*

And as for *Adimantus* himself, against whom *Herodotus* frequently inveighs, saying, that he was the only Captain, who went about to fly from *Artemisium*, and would not stay the Fight: behold in how great Honour he is.

*Brave Adimantus, who set free, when doom'd
To Slavery, all Greece, lies here entomb'd.*

For neither is it probable, that such Honour would have been shewn to a Coward and a Traytor after his Decease; nor would he have dar'd to have given his Daughters the Names of *Nausinica*, *Acrothinius*, and *Alexibia*, and his Son, that of *Aristeas*, if he had not perform'd some illustrious and memorable Action in that Fight. Nor is it credible, that *Herodotus* was ignorant of that, which could not be unknown even to the meanest *Carian*, that the *Corinthian* Women alone made that glorious and Divine Prayer, by which they besought the Goddess *Venus* to inspire their Husbands with a Love of Fighting against the *Barbarians*. For it was a thing divulg'd abroad, concerning which, *Simonides* made an Epigram to be inscrib'd on the Brazen Images, set up in that Temple of *Venus*, which is said to have been founded by *Medea*, desiring the Goddess, as some affirm, to

deliver her from loving her Husband *Jason*; or, as others, to free him from loving *Thetis*. The Tenor of the Epigram follows.

*These Statues those fair Ladies represent,
Whose Vows, for Grecia to Venus sent,
Obtain'd, she would not leave them as a Prey,
Nor to the Medes the Cittadel betray.*

These things he should rather have written, and recorded than have inserted *Aminocles's* Killing of his Son. After he had abundantly satisfy'd himself with the Accusations brought against *Themistocles*, of whom he says, that unknown to the other Captains, he incessantly robb'd and spoil'd the Islands, he at length openly takes away the Crown of Victory from the *Athenians*, and sets it on the Head of the *Ægineæ*, writing thus: *The Greeks having sent the First Fruits of their Spoils to Delphos, ask'd in general of the GOD, whether he had a sufficient part of the Booty, and were contented with it. He answer'd, That he had enough of all the other Greeks, but not of the Ægineæ; for he expected a Donary of them, as having won the greatest Honor in the Battle at Salamis.* See here, how he attributes not his Fictions to the *Scythians*, to the *Persians*, or to the *Egyptians*, as *Esop* did his to the *Ravens* and *Apes*; but using the very Person of the *Pythian Apollo*, takes from *Athens* the chief Honour of the Battle at *Salamis*. And the second Place in Honour being given to *Themistocles* at *Isthmus* by all the other Captains, every one of which, attributing to himself the first Degree of Valor, gave the next to *Themistocles*, and the Judgment not coming to a Determination; when he should have reprehended the Ambition of the Captains, he said, that all the *Greeks* weigh'd Anchor from thence, not being willing to give the chief Honour of the Victory to *Themistocles*.

In his ninth and last Book, having nothing left, to
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vent his Malice on but the *Lacedemonians*, and their glorious Action against the *Barbarians* at *Plateæ*, he writes, that the *Spartans* at first fear'd, lest the *Athenians* should suffer themselves to be perswaded by *Mardonius*, to forsake the other *Greeks*; but that now, the *Isthmus* being fortify'd, they, supposing all to be safe at *Peloponnesus*, easily slighted the rest, Feasting and making merry at home, and deluding and delaying the *Athenian* Ambassadors. How then did there go forth from *Sparta* to *Plateæ* a thousand and five Men, having every one of them with him seven *Heilots*? or how came it, that exposing themselves to so many Dangers, they vanquish'd and overthrew so many thousand *Barbarians*? Hear now his probable Cause of it. It happen'd, says he, that there was then at *Sparta* a certain Stranger of *Tegea*, nam'd *Chileus*, who had some Friends amongst the *Ephori*, between whom and him there was mutual Hospitality: He then perswaded them to send forth the Army, telling them, that the Fortification on the *Isthmus*, by which they had fence'd in *Peloponnesus*, would be of no avail, if the *Athenians* joyn'd themselves with *Mardonius*. This Counsel then drew *Paulanias* with his Army to *Plateæ*. Now if any private Business had kept that *Chileus* at *Tegea*, *Greece* had never been victorious. Again, not knowing what to do with the *Athenians*, he tosses to and fro that City, sometimes extolling it, and sometimes debasing it. He says, that contending for the second Place with the *Thegeates*, they made mention of the *Heraclide*, alledg'd their Acts against the *Amazons*, and the Sepulchres of the *Peloponnesians*, that dy'd under the Walls of *Cadmeia*, and at last brought down their Discourse to the Battle of *Marathm*, ambitiously desiring the Command of the left Wing. A little after, he says, that *Paulanias* and the *Spartans* yielded them the first Place, desiring them to fight in the right Wing against the *Persians*, and give them the Left, who excus'd themselves as not skill'd in fighting against the

Barbarians. Now 'tis a ridiculous thing to be willing to fight against no Enemy, unless one has been us'd to him. But he says farther, that the other *Greeks* being led by their Captains to encamp in another Place, as soon as they were mov'd, the Horse fled, not without Joy, towards *Platae*, and in their Flight came as far as *Juno's* Temple. In which place indeed he charges them all in general with Disobedience, Cowardize and Treason. At last he says, that only the *Lacedaemonians* and the *Tegeates* fought with the *Barbarians*, and the *Athenians* with the *Thebans*; equally defrauding all the other Cities of their Part in the Honour of the Victory; whilst he affirms, that none of them joyn'd in the Fight, but all of them, sitting still hard by in their Arms, betray'd and forsook those, who fought for them. That the *Phliassians* and *Megarians* indeed; when they heard, *Pausanias* had got the better, came in, and falling rashly on the *Theban* Horse, were cut off: that the *Corinthians* were not at the Battel; but after the Victory was got, making hast through the Hills, they escap'd the *Theban* Cavalry. For the *Thebans*, after the *Barbarians* were overthrow'n, going before with their Horse, affectionately assisted them in their Flight, to return them Thanks (forsooth) for the Marks, they had stigmatiz'd them with at *Thermopylae*. Now what Rank the *Corinthians* had in the Fight at *Platae* against the *Barbarians*, and how they perform'd their Duty, you may hear from *Simonides* in these Verses.

*Ith midst mere Men, in warlike Feats excell'g,
 Who Ephyre, full of Springs, inhabited,
 And who in Corinth, Glaucus City, dwelling,
 Great Praise by their great Valour merited;
 Of which, they, to perpetuate the Fame,
 To th' Gods of well wrought Gold did Offerings frame.*

For he wrote not these things, as one that taught at *Corinth*, or that made Verses in Honour of the City, but
 as

as recording these Actions in *Elegiac Verses*. But *Herodotus*, whilst he desires to prevent that Objection, by which those might convince him of Lying, who should ask, whence then are so many Mounts, Tombs and Monuments of the Dead, at which the *Plateans*, even to this Day, celebrate Funeral Solemnities in the Presence of the *Greeks*, has charg'd, unless I am mistaken, a fouler Crime, then that of Treason on their Posterity. For these are his Words. *As for the other Sepulchers that are seen in Plateæ, I have heard, that their Successors, being ashamed of their Progenitors Absence from this Battel, erected every Man a Monument for Posterities Sake.* Of this treacherous Deserting the Battel, *Herodotus* was the only Man, that ever heard. For the *Greeks*, who withdrew themselves from the Battel, deceiv'd *Pausanias*, *Aristides*, the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*. Neither yet did the *Athenians* exclude the *Æginetæ*, who were their Adversaries, from the Inscription, nor convince the *Corinthians* of having fled from *Salamis* before the Victory, *Greece* bearing Witness to the contrary. Indeed *Cleadas* a *Platean*, ten years after the *Median War*, to gratifie, as *Herodotus* says, the *Æginetæ*, erected a Mount bearing their Name. How came it then to pass, that the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, who were so jealous of each other, that they were presently after the War ready to go together by the Ears about the setting up a Trophy, did not yet repel those *Greeks*, who fled in a Fear from the Battel, from having a Share in the Honour of those, that behaved themselves valiantly, but inscrib'd their Names on the Trophees and Colosses, and granted them part of the Spoils? Lastly, they set up an Altar, on which was engraven this Epigram.

*The Greeks; by Valour having put to flight
The Persians, and preserv'd their Countreys Right,
Erected here this Altar, which you see,
To Jove. Preserver of their Liberty,*

Did Cleadas also, O Herodotus, or some other, write this, to oblige the Cities by Flattery? What need had they then to employ fruitless Labor in digging up the Earth, to make Tombs, and erect Monuments for Posterities Sake, when they saw their Glory consecrated in the most illustrious and greatest Donaries? Pausanias indeed, when he was now aspiring to the Tyranny, set up this Inscription in Delphos.

*Pausanias, of Greeks the General,
When he the Medes in Fight had overthrown,
Offer'd to Phæbus a Memorial
Of's Victory, this Monumental Stone.*

In which he gave the Glory to the Greeks, whose General he profess'd himself. Yet the Greeks not enduring, but utterly misliking it, the Lacedæmonians, sending to Delphos, caus'd this to be cut out, and the Names of the Cities, as it was fit, to be engraven instead of it. Now how is it probable, that the Greeks should have been offended, that there was no mention made of them in the Inscription, if they had been conscious to themselves of deserting the Fight? or that the Lacedæmonians would have eras'd the Name of their Leader and General, to insert Deserters, and such as withdrew themselves from the common Danger? For it would have been a great Indignity, that Sochares, Deipnistrus, and all the rest, who shew'd their Valor in that Fight, should calmly suffer the Cythnians and Melians to be inscrib'd on the Trophies; and that Herodotus, attributing that Fight only to three Cities, should erase all the rest out of those and other Sacred Monuments and Donaries. For there having been then four Fights with the Barbarians; he says, that the Greeks fled from Artemisium; that, whilst their King and General expos'd himself to Danger at Thermopylae, the Lacedæmonians sat negligent at Home, celebrating the Olympian and Carnean Feasts. And discouraging of the Action at Salamis, he uses more Words about

bout *Artemisia*, than he does in his whole Narrative of the Naval Battle. Lastly, he says, that the *Greeks* sat still at *Plateæ*, knowing no more of the Fight, till it was over, than if it had been a Skirmish between Mice and Frogs, in which, as *Pigres*, *Artemisia's* Brother, merrily and scoffingly said, it had been agreed to fight silently, lest they should be heard by others; and that the *Lacedæmonians* excell'd not the *Barbarians* in Valor, but only got the better, as fighting against naked and unarm'd Men. To wit, when *Xerxes* himself was present, the *Barbarians* were with much difficulty compell'd by Scourges to fight with the *Greeks*; but at *Plateæ*, having taken other Resolutions, they were no way inferior in Courage and Strength; but their Garments being without Armour, was prejudicial to them, since being naked, they fought against a compleatly arm'd Enemy. What then is there left great and memorable to the *Grecians* of those Fights, if the *Lacedæmonians* fought with unarm'd Men, the other *Greeks*, though present, were ignorant of the Battle, empty Monuments are set up every where, and *Tripuses* and Altars, full of lying Inscriptions, plac'd before the Gods: if lastly, *Herodotus* only knows the Truth, all others, that give any Account of the *Greeks*, being deceiv'd by the Fame of those Actions, as the Effects of an admirable Prowess?

What then is to be said? But that he is an acute Writer, his Style is pleasant, there is a certain Grace, Force and Elegancy in his Narrations; and as he has, like a Musician, propos'd his Discourse, though not knowingly, however sweetly, these things delight, please and affect all Men. But as in Roses we must beware of [the venomous Flies, call'd] *Cantharides*; so must we take heed of his Calumnies and Envy, lying hid under smooth and well-couch'd Phrases and Expressions, lest we imprudently entertain absurd and false Opinions of the most excellent and greatest Cities and Men of *Greece*.

Plu-

Plutarch's Morals :

Vol.IV.

Of common Conception against the Stoics.

*Translated out of the Greek, by Samuel
White, M. D.*

Lamprias. **Y**OU, O *Diadumenus*, seem not much to care, if any one thinks, that you philosophize against the common Notions ; since you confess, that you condemn also the Senses, from whence the most part of these Notions in a manner proceed, having for their Seat and Foundation the Belief of such things, as appear to us. But I beseech you, with what speed you can, either by Reasons, Incantations, or some other manner of Discourse, to cure me, who came to you, full, as I seem to my self, of great and strange Perturbation : so much have I been shaken, and into such a Perplexity of Mind have I been brought by certain *Stoics*, in other things indeed very good Men, and my familiar Friends, but most bitterly and hostilely bent against the Academy. These for some few Words, modestly spoken by me, have (for I will tell you no Lye) rudely and unkindly reprehended me ; angrily calling and reputing the Ancient Sophisters, Corrupters and Subverters of those that walk in the way of Doctrines, and saying yet things more absurd than these, they fell at last upon the Conceptions, as into which the *Academics* had brought a certain Confusion and Disturbance. At length one of them

them said, that he thought, it was not by Fortune, but by the Providence of the Gods, that *Chrysippus* came into the World after *Arcefilaus*, and before *Carneades*; of which the one was the Author of the Contumelies and Injuries done to Custom; and the other flourish'd most of all in the *Academics*. *Chrysippus* then, coming between them, by his Writings against *Arcefilaus*, stopp'd also the way against the Eloquence of *Carneades*, leaving indeed many things to the Senses, as Provisions against a Siege; but wholly taking away the Trouble about Anticipations and Conceptions, directing every one of them, and putting it in its proper Place: that they, who will again embroil and disquiet Matters, cannot but be convinc'd of being Malicious and Deceitful Sophisters. I, having been this Morning set on Fire by these Discourses, want some cooling Remedies to extinguish and take away this Doubting, as an Inflammation, out of my Mind.

Diadumenus. You perhaps have suffer'd the same things with some of the Vulgar. But if you believe the Poets, who say, that the ancient [City] *Sipilus* was overthrown by the Providence of the Gods, when they punish'd *Tantalus*, believe also the Companions of the *Stoa* [saying] that Nature, not by Chance, but by Divine Providence, brought forth *Chrysippus*, when she had a mind to turn things upside down, and alter the Course of Live; for which purpose, never any Man was fitter than he. But as *Cato* said of *Caesar*, that never any [but he] came to the [Management of] Public Affairs, sober and considerately resolv'd on the Ruin of the State: so does this Man seem to me, with the greatest Diligence and Eloquence, to overturn and demolish Custom; and that do they, who magnifie the Man, testifie, when they dispute against him concerning [the Sophism] call'd *Pseudomenos* [or the Liar.] For to say, my best Friend, that a Conclusion, drawn from contrary Positions, is

not manifestly false ; and again to say, that some Arguments, having true Premises, and true Inductions, may yet moreover have the contrary to their Conclusion true ; what Conception of Demonstration, or what Anticipation of Faith does it not overthrow ? They say, that the *Polypus* in the Winter gnaws his own Claws and pendant hairy Feet : But the Logic of *Chrysippus*, taking away and cutting off its own chiefest Parts and Principles ; What other Notion has it left unsuspected of Falshood ? For the Superstructures cannot be steady and sure, if the Foundations remain not firm, but are shaken with so many Doubts and Troubles. But as those, who have Dust or Dirt upon their Bodies, if they touch or rub the Filth, that is upon them, seem rather to increate than remove it : so some Men blame the *Academics*, and think them guilty of the Faults, with which they shew themselves to be burden'd. For which of these do at length more pervert the common Conception ? But if you please, let us leave accusing them, and defend our selves from the things, with which they charge us.

Lamprias. Methinks, *Diadumenes*, I am this Day become a certain various and unconstant Man. For e'rewhile I came dejected and trembling, as one, that wanted an Apology ; and now I am chang'd to an Accuser, and desire to enjoy the Pleasure of Revenge, in seeing them all convict together, of what they philosophize against the common Conceptions and Anticipations, whence they think chiefly [to magnifie] their Sect, as in ** and say, that it alone agrees with Nature.

Diadumenus. Shall we then first attack those common and celebrated [Doctrines of theirs] which themselves, gently admitting their Absurdity, stile Paradoxes ; as that only wise Men are Kings, that they only are rich and fair, they only Citizens and Judges ? or shall we send
all

all this to the Brokers, as old decay'd Frippery, and make our Enquiry into such things, as are most practical, and with the greatest Earnestness deliver'd by them?

Lamprias. I indeed like this best. For who is there, that is not already full of the Arguments, brought against those [Paradoxes?]

Diadumenus. First then consider this, whether, according to the common Conceptions, they [can be said to] agree with Nature, who think [all] natural things indifferent, and esteem neither Health, Vigorousness of Complexion, Beauty, nor Strength desirable, commodious, profitable, or any way contributory to the completing of natural Perfection? Nor that their Contraries, as Maims, Pains, Disgraces, and Diseases, are hurtful, or to be shunn'd. To the latter of which, themselves say, that Nature gives us an Abhorrence, and an Inclination to the former. Which very thing is not a little repugnant to common Understanding: that Nature should incline us to such things, as are neither good nor available, and avert us from such, as are neither ill, nor hurtful; and which is more, that she should render this Inclination and this Aversion so violent, that they, who either possess not the one, or fall into the other, with good Reason detest their Life, and withdraw themselves out of it. I think also, that this is said by them against common Sense, that Nature her self is indifferent, and yet that 'tis good to agree with Nature. For 'tis not our Duty, either to follow the Law, or be perswaded by Argument, unless the Law and Argument be good and honest. And this indeed is the least [of their Errors.] But if, as *Chrysippus* has written in his first Book concerning Exhortation, an happy Life consists only in living according to Vertue, other things, as he says, being nothing to us, nor co-operating any way towards it, Nature is not only indifferent, but foolish

lish also and stupid, in inclining us to such things, as belong nothing to us; and we also are fools in thinking Felicity to be an agreeing with Nature, which draws us after such things, as contribute nothing to Happiness. For what can be more agreeable to common Sense, than that, as desirable things are requisite to live commodiously, so natural things are necessary, that we may live according to Nature. Now these Men say not so; but having settled the Living according to Nature for their End, do nevertheless hold those things, which are according to Nature, to be indifferent. Nor is this less repugnant to common Sense, that an intelligent and prudent Man should not be equally affected to equal good things; but should put no value on some, and be ready to undergo and suffer any thing for others, though the things themselves are neither greater nor less one than another. For they say, 'tis the same thing to abstain from the Enjoyment of an old Woman, that has one foot in the Grave [and to venture ones Life in defence of ones Country:] since both do, what their Duty requires. And yet for this, as a great and glorious thing, they should be ready to dye; when as to boast of the other, would be shameful and ridiculous. And even *Chrysippus* himself in his Commentary concerning *Jupiter*, in the third Book of the Gods, says, that 'twere a poor, absurd and impertinent thing to glory in such Acts, as proceeding from Vertue, as 'twere to bear valiantly the Stinging of a Wasp, or to abstain chastly from an old Woman, that lies a dying. Do not they then philosophize against the common Conception, who profess nothing to be more commendable than those things, which yet themselves are ashamed to praise? For how can that be desirable, or to be approv'd, which is worthy neither of Praise nor Admiration; but the Praisers and Admirers of which, they esteem absurd and ridiculous? And yet this will (I suppose) appear to you more against common

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mon Sense. that a wise Man should take no care, whether, he enjoys, or not enjoys the greatest good things, but should carry himself after the same manner in these things, as in those, that are indifferent, and the Management and Administration of them. For all of us, whoever we are, *that eat the Fruits of the Earth*, judge that desirable, good and profitable, which, being present, we use, and absent, we want and desire. But that, which no Man thinks worth his Concern, either for his Profit, or Delight, is indifferent. For we by no other means distinguish a laborious Man from a Trifler, who is for the most part also employ'd in action, but that the one busies himself in useless Matters and indifferently, and the other in things commodious and profitable. But these Men act quite contrary: for with them, a wise and prudent Man, being conversant in many Comprehensions and Memories of Comprehension, esteems few of them to belong to him, and not Caring for the rest, thinks he has neither more or less by remembering, that he lately had the Comprehension [or certain [Knowledge] of *Dion* sneezing, or *Theon* playing at Ball, although every Comprehension in a wise Man, and every Memory, having Assurance and Firmness, is a great, yea, a very great Good. When therefore his Health fails, when some Organ of his Senses is disorder'd, or when his Wealth is lost, is a wise Man so careless, as to think, that none of these things concerns him? Or does he, when sick, give Fees to the Physicians? for the gaining of Riches sail to *Leucon*, Governor in the *Bosphorus*, or travel to *Indathyrsus*, King of the *Scythians*, as *Chrysippus* says? and being depriv'd of some of his Senses, grow weary even of Life? How then do they not acknowledge, that they Philosophize against the common Notions, employing so much Care and Diligence on things indifferent, and carrying themselves indifferently, when they either have, or have not great good things?

But

But this also is yet against the common Conceptions, that he, who is a Man, should not rejoyce, when coming from the greatest Evils to the greatest Goods. Now their wise Men suffer this. For being chang'd from extream Vitioufness to the highest Vertue, and at the same time escaping a most miserable Life, and attaining to a most happy one, he shews no sign of Joy, nor does this so great Change lift him up, or yet move him, being deliver'd from all Infelicity and Vice, and coming to a certain sure and firm Perfection of Vertue. This also is repugnant to common Sense, that the being immutable in ones Judgments and Resolutions, is the greatest of Goods, and yet, that he, who has attain'd to the height, wants not this, nor cares for it, when he has it; nay, many times will not so much as stretch forth a Finger for this Security and Constancy, which nevertheless themselves esteem the Sovereign and perfect Good. Nor do the *Stoics* only say these things, but [add] also this to them, that the continuance of Time encreases not any good thing; but that, if a Man shall be wise but a minute of an hour, he will not be any way inferior in Happiness to Him, who has all his time practis'd Vertue, and led his Life happily in it. Yet, whilst they thus boldly affirm these things, they on the contrary also say, that a short-liv'd Vertue is nothing worth: For what Advantage would the Attainment of Wisdom be to him, who is immediately to be swallow'd up by the Waves, or tumbled down headlong from a Precipice? What would it have benefited *Lichas*, if, being thrown by *Hercules*, as from a Sling into the Sea, he had been on a sudden chang'd from Vice to Vertue? These therefore are the Positions of Men, who not only philosophize against the common Conceptions, but also confound their own; if the having been but a little while endu'd with Vertue is no way short of the highest Felicity, and at the same time nothing worth.

Nor

Nor is this the strangest thing, you will find in their Doctrin, but their being of Opinoin, that Vertue and Happines, when present, are frequently not perceiv'd by him, who enjoys them; nor does he discern, that having but a little before been most miserable and foolish, he is of a sudden become wise and happy. For 'tis not only childish to say, that he, who is possess'd of Wisdom, is ignorant of this thing alone, that he is wise, and knows not that he is deliver'd from Folly; but, to speak in general, they make Goodness to have very little Weight or Strength, if it does not give so much as a Feeling of it, when 'tis present: for, according even to them, 'tis not by Nature imperceptible; nay, even *Crysippus* in his [Books] *Of the End*, expressly says, that Good is sensible, as he thinks, and demonstrates. It remains then, that by its weakness and littleness it flies the Sense, when, being present, 'tis unknown and conceal'd from the Possessors. 'Twere moreover absurd [to imagin] that the Sight, perceiving those things, which are but a little whitish, or inclining to white, should not discern such as are white in perfection, or that the Touch, feeling those things, which are but warm, or moderately hot, should be insensible of those, that are hot in the highest degree. And yet more absurd it is, that a Man, who perceives, what is commonly according to Nature, as are Health and good Constitution of Body, should yet be ignorant of Vertue, when it is present, which themselves hold to be most of all, and in the highest degree according to Nature. For how can it but be against Sense, to conceive the difference between Health and Sicknes, [and so little to comprehend that between Wisdom] and Folly, as to think, the one to be present, when it is gone and possessing the other, to be ignorant, that one has it? Now because there is from the highest Progress a Change made to Felicity and Vertue, one of these two things must of necessity

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follow; either that this Progress is not Vice and Infelicity; or that Vertue is not far distant from Vice, nor Happiness from Misery; but that the Difference between Good and Evil is very small, and not to be perceiv'd by Sense; for otherwise they, who have the one for the other, could not be ignorant of it. Since then they will not depart from any of these Contrarieries, but confess, and hold them all. That those, who are proceeding towards Vertue, are Fools and vitious; that those, who are become Good and Wise, perceive not this Change in themselves; and that there is a great difference between Folly and Wisdom, do they not seem to you wonderfully to preserve an Agreement in their Doctrines?

[Now if in their Doctrines they are repugnant to Common Sense, and contradictory to themselves] they are yet more so in their [Negotiations and] Affairs, when affirming all Men, who are not wise, to be equally wicked, unjust, faithless and Fools, they on the other side abhor and detest some of them, nay, sometimes to such a Degree, that they refuse even to speak to them when they meet them; and others of them, they trust with their Money, choose to Offices, and take for Husbands to their Daughters. Now if they say these things in jest, let them smoothe their Brows; but if in earnest, and as Philosophers, 'tis against the common Notions, to reprove and blame all Men alike in Words, and yet to deal with some of them, as moderate Persons, and with others, as very wicked; and exceedingly to admire *Chrysippus*, to deride *Alexinus*, and yet to think neither of them more or less mad than the other. 'Tis so, say they; but as he, who is not above a Cubit under the Superficies of the Sea, is no less drown'd, than he, who is five hundred Fathom deep: so they, that are coming towards Vertue, are no less in Vice, than those, that are farther off: and as blind Men are still blind, tho'

tho' they shall perhaps a little after recover their Sight: so those, that have proceeded towards Vertue, till such time as they have attain'd to it, continue foolish and wicked. But that they, who are in the way towards Vertue, resemble not the Blind, but such, as see less clearly, nor are like to those, who are drown'd, but to those, which swim, and that near the Harbor, they themselves testifie by their Actions. For they would not use Counsellors and Generals, and Law-givers, as blind Men do Guides; nor would imitate the Works and Actions, and Words, and Lives of some, if they saw them all equally drown'd in Folly and Wickednets.

But leaving this, wonder at the Men in this behalf, that they are not taught by their own Examples, to let alone these wise Men, who are ignorant of themselves, and neither know, nor are sensible, that they are recover'd from being drown'd, and see the Light, and being gotten above Vice, fetch Breath again. This also is against common Sense, that it should be convenient for a Man, who has all good things, and wants nothing [requisite] to Felicity and Happines, to make away himself; and much more this, that for him, who neither has, nor ever shall have any good thing, but who is, and ever shall be accompany'd with all Adversities, Difficulties and Mishaps, it should not be fitting to quit this Life, unless some of the indifferent things befall him. These Laws are enacted in the *Stoa*, and by these they incite many wise Men [to kill themselves] as who shall be thereby more happy. Although the wise Man is fortunate, blessed, every way happy, secure, and free from Danger; but the vicious and foolish Man, full, as I may say, of Wickedness; so that there is not room to put them in; and yet they think, that continuing in Life is fit for the latter, and departing out of it only for the former. And not without cause, says *Chrysippus*; for we are not to measure Life by good things or evil,

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but by those, that are according to Nature. In this manner do they maintain Custom, and philosophize according to the common Conceptions. What do you say? Ought not he, who enters upon a Deliberation of Life and Death to consider,

What Good or ill in his own House there is?

Should he not weigh, as in a Ballance, what things have the greatest Sign of serving to Felicity or Infelicity? But argue, whether he should live or dye, from those things, which are neither profitable nor prejudicial? and follow such Principles and Sentences, as command the choosing of a Life full of all things, to be avoided, and the shunning of one, which wants nothing of all those things, that are desirable? For though 'tis an absurd thing, Friend *Lamprias*, to shun a Life, in which there is no Evil; 'tis yet more absurd, if any one should leave what is good, because he is not possess'd of what is indifferent, as these Men do, who leave present Felicity and Vertue for want of Riches and Health, which they have not.

Saturnian Jove from Glaucus took his Wits,

When he went about to change his Suit of golden Armor for a brasen one, and to give, what was worth an hundred Oxen, for that, which was worth but nine; and yet the brasen Armor was no less useful for Fight than the golden: Whereas Beauty and Health of Body, as the *Stoicks* say, contribute not the least Advantage to Help towards Felicity; and yet they are willing to take Health in exchange for Wisdom. For they say, it would well enough have become *Heracitus* and *Pherecydes* to have parted with their Vertue and Wisdom, if the one of them could have thereby been freed from his low-sie Disease, and the other from his Dropsie. And if *Circe* had us'd two sorts of Magical Drinks, one to
make

make wise Men Fools, and the other to make Fools wise *** *Ulysses* [would have done well] rather to have drank that of Folly, then to have chang'd his [Human] Shape for the Form of a Beast, though having with it Wisdom and consequently also Happiness. And, they say, that Wisdom it self dictates to them these things, exhorting them thus: *Let me go, and value not my being lost, If I must be carry'd about in the Shape of an Ass.* But this, will some say, is an Ass-like Wisdom, which teaches thus since to be wise and enjoy Felicity is good, and to wear the Shape [of an Ass] indifferent. They say, there is a Nation of the *Aethiopians*, were a Dog reigns, is call'd King, and has all regal Honors and Services done to him; but Men execute the Offices of Magistrates and Governors of Cities. Do not the *Stoics* Act in the very same manner? They give the Name and Apparence of Good to Vertue, saying, that it alone is desirable, profitable and available; but in the mean time they act these things, they philosophize, they live and die, as at the Command of things indifferent. And yet none of the *Aethiopians* kill that Dog; but he sits in State, and is rever'd by all. But these Men destroy and corrupt their Vertue, that they may obtain Health and Riches.

But the Corollary, which *Chrysippus* himself has given for a Conclusion to his Doctrines, seems to free us from the Trouble of saying any thing more about it. *For there being, says he, in Nature some things good, some things bad and some things between them both, which we call indifferent there is no Man, but would rather have the Good than the Indifferent, and the Indifferent than the Bad.* And of this we call the Gods to witness, begging of them by our Prayers, principally the Possession of good things; and, if that may not be, Deliverance from Evil; not desiring that which is neither good nor bad, instead of Good; but willing to have it instead of Evil

But this Man, changing Nature, and inverting its Order, removes the middle out of its own place into the last, and brings back the last into the middle; not unlike to those Tyrants, who give the first Place to the Wicked; and giving us a Law, first to seek for the Good, and secondly, the Evil, and lastly, to judge that worst, which is neither Good nor Evil; as if any one should place Infernal things next to Cœlestial, thrusting the Earth and earthly things into *Tartarus*,

*Where very far from hence, deep under Ground,
Lies a vast Gulf-----*

Having therefore said in his third Book, that 'tis more expedient for a Fool to live, than not, though he should never attain to Wisdom; he adds these Words: *For such are the good things of Men, that even evil things do in a manner precede others in the middle place. Not that these things themselves really precede; but Reason, which makes us choose rather to live, though we are to be Fools: therefore also, though unjust, wicked, hated of the Gods, and unhappy; for none of these things are absent from those, that live foolishly. Is it then convenient rather to live miserably, than not to live miserably, and better to be hurt, than not hurt; to be unjust, than not unjust: to break the Laws, than not to break them? That is, is it convenient to do things that are not convenient, and a Duty to live even against Duty? Yes indeed, for 'tis worse to want Sense and Reason, than to be a Fool. What then ails them, that they will not confess that to be Evil, which is worse than Evil? Why do they say, that Folly alone is to be avoided, if 'tis not less, but rather more convenient, to shun that Disposition, which is not capable of Folly?*

But who can complain of this, that shall remember what he has written in his Second Book of *Nature*, declaring, that Vice was not unprofitably made for the Universe? But 'tis meet, I should set down his Doctrine
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in his own Words, that you may understand, in what place those rank Vice, and what Discourses they hold of it, who accuse *Xenocrates* and *Speusippus* for not reckoning Health indifferent, and Riches useless. *Vice*, says he, *has its Limit in reference to other Accidents.* For 'tis also in some sort according to the Reason of Nature, and, as I may so say, is not wholly useless in respect of the Universe: for otherwise also there would not be any Good. Is there then no Good among the Gods, because there is no Evil? And when *Jupiter*, having resolv'd all Matter into himself, shall be alone, other Differences being taken away, will there then be no Good, because there will be no Evil? But [is it true, that] there is Melody in a Quire, though none in it sings faultily? and Health in the Body, tho' no Member is sick? and yet cannot Vertue have its Existence without Vice? But as the Poyson of a Serpent, or the Gall of an Hyena is to be mixt with some Medicines: Was it also of necessity, that there must have been some Conjunction of the Wickedness of *Melitus*, with the Justice of *Socrates*, and the Dissoluteness of *Cleon*, with the Probity of *Pericles*? And could not *Jupiter* have found a Means to bring into the World *Hercules* and *Lycurgus*, if he had not also made for us *Sardanapalus* and *Phalaris*? 'Tis now time for them to say, that the Consumption was made for the sound Constitution of Mens Bodies, and the Gout for the Swiftnes of their Feet; and that *Achilles* would not have had a good Head of Hair, if *Thersites* had not been bald. For what difference is there between such Triflers and Ravers, and those, who say, that Intemperance was not brought forth unprofitably for Continence, nor Injustice for Justice? that so we may pray to the Gods, there may be always Wickedness, Lies, flattering Speeches, and deceitful Manners: If these be taken away, Vertue will also vanish and be lost.

Or do you desire to understand the greatest Sweetness of his Eloquence and Persuasion? For, says he, *As Comedies have in them sometimes ridiculous Epigrams, which though bad in themselves, give nevertheless a certain Grace to the whole Poem: so, though you may blame Vice in it self, yet is it not useless to other things.* First then [to say] that Vice was made by the Providence of God, as a wanton Epigram by the will of the Poet, transcends in Absurdity all Imagination. For this being granted, how will the Gods be rather Givers of Good then Evil? How will Wickedness be displeasing to them, and hated by them? And what shall we have to oppose against these ill-sounding Sentences of the Poets?

——— *A Cause to Men God sends,
When to chastise some House his Wrath intends?*

And again,

What God these Seeds of Strife twixt them did sow.

Moreover, a lewd Epigram adorns the Comedy, and contributes to its End, which is to delight the Spectators, and make them laugh? But *Jupiter*, who is Surnam'd *Fatherly*, *Supreme*, *Just*, and, as *Pindarus* has it, *the most perfect Artist*, Framing the World, not as a great Enterlude, full of Variety, and great Learning; but as a common City of Gods and Men, living together in Concord and Happiness with Justice and Vertue: What need had he, for the attaining to this excellent End of Thieves, Murderers, Parricides and Tyrants; For Vice entred not as a Morisk-dance, pleasing and delightful to the Divinity; nor was brought in amongst the Affairs of Men, for to cause Mirth and Laughter by its Railery and Facetiousness, since there is not to be seen in it so much as a Dream of that celebrated Agreement [with Nature.] Besides, that foolish Epigram is a very small part of the Poem, and takes up but a very little

little Place in the Comedy; neither do such things abound in it, nor do they corrupt any of those things, which seem to have been well done, or spoil their Grace. But all [Human] Affairs are repleat with Vice, and the whole Life from the very Prologue and Beginning to the End, being disorder'd, deprav'd and disturb'd, and having no part of it pure, or irreprehensible, as these Men say, is the most filthy and most unpleasant of all Farces. Wherefore I would willingly ask, in what Vice is profitable to the Universe. Not surely in respect of heavenly things, and such, as are Divine by Nature: for 'twould be ridiculous [to say] that, if there had not arisen, or were not amongst Men, Malice and Covetousness, and Lying, or that, if we did not Rob, Plunder, Slander and Murther one another, the Sun would not run his appointed Course, the World enjoy its Seasons and Periods of Time, or the Earth, which is seated in the midst of the Universe, afford the Principles of Wind and Rain. It remains then, that the Existence of Vice must be profitable for us and our Affairs; and that perhaps these Men mean. Are we then more healthy for being vicious, or do we more abound with Necessaries? or does Vice contribute any thing to our Beauty or Strength? They say, No. Is it then only a Name of Silence, and a visionary Opinion of Night-walking Sophisters, not lying above all things, and conspicuous to all, as Vice; so that it cannot partake of any thing, as unprofitable; but least, O ye Gods! of Vertue, for which we were created? Is it not then absurd, that the Utensils of the Husbandman, Mariner and Carter, should be serviceable and aiding towards his intended End, whilst that, which was by God made for Vertue, destroys and corrupts Vertue? But perhaps 'tis time now to leave this Point, and pass to another.

Lamprias. Not for my Sake, my dear Friend, I beseech you; for I desire to understand, in what manner these Men bring in evil things before the good, and Vice before Vertue.

Diadumenus. It is indeed, Sir, a thing worth knowing. They babble indeed much; but in conclusion they say, that Prudence, being the Knowledge of Good and Evil ** and be wholly taken away. For, as, if there are Truths, 'tis impossible, but there must be some Lies also near to them; so it stands with Reason, that, if there are good things, there must also be evil things.

Lamprias. One of these things indeed is not said amiss. And I think also, that the other is not unapprehended by me. For I see a Difference [shewing] why that, which is not true, must immediately be False; but that is not of necessity, presently Evil, which is not Good: because that between True and False there is no Medium; but between Good and Evil there is indifferent. Nor is it of necessity, that the one must subsist with the other: for Nature may have Good without having any need of Evil, but only of that, which is neither Good nor Evil. But if there is any thing said by you to the former Reason, let us hear it.

Diadumenus. Many things indeed are said; but at present we shall make use only of what is most necessary. In the first place, 'tis a Folly to imagine, that Good and Evil have their Existence for the Sake of Prudence: for, Good and Evil being already extant, Prudence came afterwards: as the Art of Physic was invented, there being already things wholsom and unwholsom. For Good and Evil are not therefore extant, that there may be Prudence: But the Faculty, by which we judge between Good and Evil, that are already in being, is named Prudence. As Sight is a Sense, distinguishing White from Black: which Colors

were

were not therefore made, that we might have Sight ; but we rather wanted Sight, to discern these things. Secondly, When the World shall, as they hold, be set on Fire, there will then no Evil be left ; but all will then be prudent and wise. There is therefore Prudence, though there is no Evil : nor is it of necessity for Evil to exist, that Prudence may have a Being. But supposing, that Prudence must always be a Knowledge of Good and Evil, what Inconvenience would it be, if, Evil being taken away, Prudence should no longer subsist ; but instead of this we should have another Vertue, not being the Knowledge of Good and Evil, but of Good only ? So, if Black should be wholly lost from among the Colors, and any one should therefore contend, that Sight also is lost, for that 'tis not the Sense of [discerning] Black and White ; what should hinder us from answering him ? 'Tis no Prejudice to us, if we have not, what you call Sight, but in lieu of that have another Sense and Faculty, by which we apprehend Colours, that are White and not White. For I indeed think, that neither our Taste would be lost, if bitter things were wanting, nor our Feeling, if Pain were taken away, nor Prudence, if Evil had no Being ; but that these Senses would remain, to apprehend things sweet and grateful, and those that are not so, and Prudence to be the Science of things Good and not Good. But let those, who think otherwise, take the Name to themselves, leaving us the Thing. Besides all this, what should hinder, but there may be an Understanding of Evil, and an Existence of Good ? As the Gods, I believe, enjoy Health, but understand the Fever and Pleurisie. Since even we, who, as they say, have abundance of Evils, but no Good, are not yet destitute of the Knowledge, what Prudence, what Goodness, and what Happiness is. And this also is to be admir'd, that, Vertue being absent, there should be those, who
can

can teach us, what it is, and give us a Comprehension of it; but [Vice] not being extant, it should be impossible to have any Understanding of it.

For see what these Men perswade us, who Philosophize against the Conceptions, that by Folly indeed we comprehend Prudence; but Prudence without Folly cannot so much as comprehend Folly it self. And if Nature had absolutely stood in need of the Generation of Evil, yet might one or two Examples of Vice have been sufficient; or if you will, it might have been requisite, that ten, a thousand, or ten thousand vicious Men should be brought forth, and not, that the Multitude of Vices should be so great, as to exceed in Number the Sands of the Sea, the Dust of the Earth, and the Feathers of all the various kinds of Birds in the World; and yet, that there should not be so much all this while, as a Dream of Vertue. Those, who in *Sparta* had the Charge of the [public Halls or Eating places, call'd] *Phiditia*, were wont to bring forth two or three *Heilots*, drunken and full of Wine, that the young Men, seeing what Drunkenness was, might learn to keep Sobriety. But in Human Life there are many such Examples of Vice. For there is not any one sober to Vertue; but we all stagger up and down, acting shamfully, and living miserably. Thus does Reason inebriate us and with so much Trouble and Madness does it fill us, that we fall in nothing short of those Dogs, of whom *Æsop* says, that seeing certain Skins swim on the Sea, they endeavour'd to drink it up, but burst, before they could get at them. For Reason also, by which we hope to gain Reputation, and attain to Vertue, does, ere we can reach to it, corrupt and destroy us, being before fill'd with abundance of heady and bitter Vice. If indeed, as these Men say, they who are got even to the uppermost Step, have no Ease, Cessation, or Breathing from Folly and Infelicity

But

But let us see, what manner of thing he shews Vice to be, who says, that 'twas not brought forth unprofitably, and of what use he makes it to be to those, who have it: writing in his Book, *Of perfect Offices*, that a wicked Man wants Nothing, has need of Nothing: Nothing is useful to him, Nothing proper, Nothing fit for him. How then is Vice useful, with which, neither Health, nor abundance of Riches, nor Advancement [in Vertue] is profitable? Does then none want these things, of which some are precedent and preferable, and therefore useful, and others, according to Nature, as themselves term? Has none need of them, unless he become Wise? Does neither the vitious Man stand in need of being made Wise? Nor are Men hungry and thirsty, before they become Wise? The Thirsty then have no need of Water, nor the Hungry of Bread: like those courteous Guests, who requested only Shelter and Fire: So he had no need either of Entertainment, or a Cloak, who said:

Give Hipponax a Cloak: I'm stiff with Cold.

But will you speak a Paradox indeed, both extravagant and singular? Say, that a wise Man has need of Nothing, that he wants Nothing. He is fortunate, he is free from Want, he is self-sufficient, blessed, perfect. Now what Madness is this that he, to whom nothing is wanting, has need of the Goods he has; but that the Vicious indeed wants many things, but stands in need of Nothing. For thus indeed, says *Chrisippus*, that the Vicious wants, but stands not in need: removing the common Notions, like Chess-men, backwards and forwards. For all Men think, that having Need precedes Wanting, esteeming him, who stands in need of things, that are not at hand, or easie to be got, to want them. For no Man wants Horns or Wings, because he has no need of them. But we say, that those want Arms and Money, and
Cloaths,

Cloaths, who are destitute of them, when they have occasion for them. But these Men are so desirous of seeming always to say something against the common Notions, that for the Love of Novelty they often depart from their own Opinions, as they do here; [which that you may the better perceive] recal your self to the Consideration of what has been said a little above.

This is one of their Assertions against the common Conceptions, that no vicious Man receives any Utility: And yet many, being instructed, profit; many, being Slaves, are made free; many, being Besieg'd, are deliver'd; being Lame, are led by the Hand; and being Sick, are cur'd: But possessing all these things, they are never the better, neither do receive Benefits, nor have they any Benefactors, nor do they slight them. Vicious Men then are not ungrateful, no more than are wise Men. Ingratitude therefore has no Being: because the Good, receiving a Benefit, fail not to acknowledge it, and the Bad are not capable of receiving any. Behold now, what they say to this, [to wit] that Benefit is rank'd amongst [mean, or] middle things, and that to give and receive Utility, belongs only to the Wise; but the Bad also receive a Benefit. Then they, who partake of a Benefit, partake not also of its Use: and whither a Benefit extends, there is nothing useful or commodious. Now what else is there, that makes a kind Office a Benefit, but that the Bestower of it is in some respect useful to the needy Receiver?

Lamprias. But let these things pass. What [I beseech you] is this so highly venerated Utility, which preserving as some great and excellent thing, for the Wise, they permit not so much as the Name of it to the Vicious?

Diadumenus. If [say they] one wise Man does but any way prudently stretch out his Finger, all the wise Men

Men all the World over receives Utility by it. This is the Work of their Amity, in this do the Vertues of the wise Man terminate by their common Utilities. *Aristotle* then and *Xenocrates* doted, saying, that Men receive Utility from the Gods, from their Parents, from their Masters, being ignorant of that wonderful Utility, which wise Men receive from one another, being mov'd according to Vertue, though they neither are together, nor yet know it. Yet all Men esteem, that laying up, keeping and bestowing are then useful and profitable, when some Benefit or profit is recover'd by it. The thriving Man buys Keys, and diligently keeps his Stores,

With's Hand unlocking Wealths, sweet Treasury.

But to store up, and to keep with diligence and labour such things, as are for no use, is not seemly or honorable, but ridiculous. If *Ulysses* indeed had ty'd up with the Knot, which *Circe* taught him, not the Gifts, he had receiv'd from *Alcinous*, Tripodes, Caldrons, Cloths and Gold; but heaping up Trash, Stones and such like Trumpery, should have thought his Employment about such things, and the Possession, and Keeping of them, an happy and blessed Work: would any one have imitated this foolish Providence, and empty Care? Yet this is the Beauty, Gravity, and Happiness of the *Stoica* Consent, being nothing else but a gathering together, and keeping of useles and indifferent things. For such are things according to Nature, and more exterior things: If they compare the greatest Riches to Fringes and golden Chamber-pots, and sometimes also, as it happens to Oil Cruets. Then, as those who seem proudly to have affronted and rail'd at some Gods or Demi-Gods, presently changing their Note, fall prostrate, and sit humbly on the Ground, praising and magnifying the Divinity; so these Men, through a certain

tain Punishment of this Arrogancy and Vanity, again exercise themselves in these indifferent things, and such as pertain nothing to them, crying out with a loud Voice, how good, how specious, and how honorable a thing, the storing up of these things, and the Communication in them is, and that 'tis not meet for those, who have them not, to live, but to dispatch out of the way, and furnish themselves, bidding a long Farewel to Vertue.

They esteem indeed *Theognis* to have been a Man altogether of a base and abject Spirit, for saying, as one over-fearful [in Verse:]

*From Poverty to fly, into the Deep
Throw thy self, Cyrenus, or from Rocks so sleep.*

Yet they themselves exhort the same thing, and affirm, that a Man, to free himself from some great Disease, or exceedingly acure Pain, if we have not at hand Sword or Poyson, ought to leap into the Sea, or throw himself headlong from a Precipice. Neither of which is hurtful, or evil, or incommodious, or makes them, who fall into it, miserable. *With what then, says he, shall I begin? and what shall I take for the Principle of Duty, and Matter of Vertue, leaving Nature, and that, which is according to Nature?* With what, O good Sir, do *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus* begin? What Beginnings do *Xenocrates* and *Polemon* take? Does not also *Zeno* follow these, supposing Nature, and that, which is according to Nature, to be the Elements of Happiness? But they indeed persisted in these things, as desirable, good and profitable, and joyning to them Vertue, which employs them, and uses every one of them according to its Property, thought to compleat and consummate a perfect Life, and one every way absolute, producing that Concord, which is truly suitable and consonant to Nature: Not like those, who, leaping up from the
Ground,

Ground, and presently falling down again upon it, were disturb'd, terming the same things acceptable, and not desirable; proper, and not good; unprofitable, and yet useful; nothing to us and yet the Principles of Duties. But the Life of those Men was such, as their Speech exhibiting their Actions suitable and consonant to their Sayings. But they, who are of the *Stoic* Sect, not unlike to that Woman in *Archilochus*, who deceitfully carry'd in one Hand Water, in the other Fire, by some Doctrines draw Nature to them, and by others drive her from them. Or rather by their Deeds and Actions they embrace those things, which are according to Nature, as Good and Desirable; but in Words and Speeches they reject and condemn them, as indifferent and of no use to Vertue for the acquiring Felicity.

Now, forasmuch as all Men esteem the Sovereign Good to be joyous, desirable, happy, of the greatest Dignity, self-sufficient, and wanting nothing: Compare their Good, and see, [how it agrees with this common Conception.] Does the stretching out a Finger prudently produce this Joy? Is a prudent Torture a thing desirable? Is he happy, who with reason breaks his Neck? Is that of the greatest Dignity, which Reason often chooses to let go for that, which is not Good? Is that perfect, and self sufficient, which though they enjoy, yet if they have not also indifferent things, they neither can nor will endure to live? Was there ever any other Discourse, by which Custom was more injur'd taking and plucking from her her genuine Notions being as her Legitimate Children, and supposing other bastardly, wild and illegitimate ones in their room, and necessitating her to nourish and cherish the one instead of the other? and that in those which concern things good and bad, desirable and avoidable, proper and strange, the Energy of which ought to be more clearly distinguished, than that of Hot and Cold, Black

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and White. For the Imaginations of these things are brought in by the Senses from without; but those have their Original bred from the good things, which we have within us. But these Men entering with their Logic upon the Topic of Felicity, as on the Sophism, call'd *Pseudomenos*, or that nam'd *Kyrienon*, have remov'd no Ambiguity, but brought in very many.

Indeed of two good things, of which the one is the End, the other belongs to the End, none is ignorant, that the End is the greater and perfecter Good. *Chrysippus* also acknowledges this Difference, as is manifest from his third Book, of *good things*. For he dissents from those, who make Science the End, and sets it down in his *Treatise of Justice*. And if any one supposes Pleasure to be the End, he does not think, that Justice can be safe; but grants, it may, if Pleasure is not said to be the End, but simply a Good. Nor do I think, that you would now hear me repeating his Words: since his third Book of *Justice* is every where to be had. When therefore, O my Friend, they elsewhere say, that no one Good is greater or less than another, and that what is not the End, is equal to the End, they contradict not only the common Conceptions, but even their own Words. Again, if of two Evils, the one, when it is present, renders us worse and the other hurts us indeed, but renders us not worse, that, in my Opinion, is the greater, which renders us worse. Now *Chrysippus* indeed confesses, that there are some Fears and Sorrows, and Errors, which hurt us, but render us not worse. Read his first Book of *Justice* against *Plato*: for in respect of other things, 'tis worth the while to note the Babbling of the Man in that Place delivering indifferently all Matters and Doctrines, as well proper to his own Sect, as foreign, against common Sense; as when he says, that there may be two Ends or Scopes propos'd of Life, and that all the things we do, are not

to be referr'd to one. And yet this is more against common Sense, that there is an End, and yet that every Action is to be referr'd to another, and nevertheless they must of necessity endure one of these. For if those things, that are first according to Nature, are not eligible for themselves and the last End, but the Choice and Taking of them is agreeable to Reason, and that every one therefore does all his Actions for the acquiring the first things according to Nature, and that all things which are done, have their Reference to this, that the Principal things, according to Nature may be obtain'd. For if they think, that they who neither aim nor aspire to get these things, have an end, there must be something else, to which the Choice of these things must be referr'd, and not the things themselves. For the end indeed is to choose and receive these things prudently. But the things themselves, and the enjoying of them, is not the End, but is subjected as a certain Matter, having a Worthiness to be chosen. For this is my Opinion, that they both use and write this very Expression, to shew the Difference.

Lamprias. You have exactly related, both what they say, and in what manner they deliver it.

Diadumenus. But observe, how it fares with them, as with those, that endeavor to leap over their own Shadow for they do not leave behind, but [always] carry along with them in their Speech some Absurdity, most remote from common Sense. For as, if any one should say, that he, who shoots, does all he can, not that he may hit the Mark, but that he may do, all he can, such an one would rightly be esteem'd to speak enigmatically and prodigiously: so these doating Dreamers, who contend, that the obtaining of natural things, is not the End of aiming after natural things, but only the taking and choosing them; and that the Desire and Endeavour after Health is not in every one terminated in

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the Enjoyment of Health; but that on the contrary, the
Enjoyment of Health is referr'd to the Desire and En-
deavour after it, and that certain Walkings, and Con-
tentions of Speech and suffering Incisions, and taking of
Medicines, so they are done by Reason, are the End of
Health, and not Health of them: [they I say] trifle
like to those, who say, *Let us Sup, that we may Kill, that
we may Bath.* But this rather changes Order and
Custom, and all things, which these Men say, carry
with them the total Subversion and Confusion of Affairs.
Thus we do not desire to take a Walk in fit time, that
we may digest our Meat; but [we digest our Meat]
that we may take a Walk in fit time. Has Nature al-
so made Health for the Sake of Hellebore, instead of
producing Hellebore for the Sake of Health? For what
is wanting to bring them to the highest Degree of
speaking Paradoxes, but the saying of such things?
What difference is there between him, who says that
Health was made for the Sake of Medicines, and not
Medicines for the Sake of Health; and him, who makes
the Choice of Medicines, and their Composition, and
Use, more desirable than Health it self? or rather, who
esteems Health not at all desirable, but placing the End
in the Negotiation about these things, prefers Desire to
Enjoyment and not Enjoyment to Desire: For to De-
sire, forsooth, is joyn'd the Proceeding wisely and dis-
creetly. 'Tis true indeed, we will say, if Respect be
had to the End, [that is] the Enjoyment and Possession
of the Things, it pursues; but otherwise 'tis wholly
void of Reason, if it does all things for the obtaining of
that, the Enjoyment of which is neither Honorable nor
Happy.

Lamprias. Now since we are fallen upon this Dis-
course, any thing may rather be said to agree with
common Sense, than that those, who have neither re-
ceiv'd nor have any Conception of Good, do never-
theless

theless desire and pursue it; For you see, how *Chrysippus* drives *Ariston* into this Difficulty, that he should understand an Indifference in things, enclining neither to Good nor Bad, before either Good or Bad are themselves understood; for so its Indifference will appear to have subsisted before, if the understanding of it cannot be perceiv'd, unless Good be understood: Now this is no other thing, but only Good.

Diadumenus. Understand Now and consider this Indifference taken out of the *Stoa*, and call'd Consent; whence, and in what manner it gives us the Knowledge of Good, for if without Good the Indifference to that which is not Good, cannot be understood; much less does the Prudence of good things give any Intelligence to those, who had not before some *Pra*-notion of the Good. But as there can be no Knowledge of the Art of things wholsom and unwholsom in those, who have not first some Knowledge of the things themselves; so they cannot conceive any Notion of the Science of Good and Evil, who have not some Fore-knowledge of Good and Evil. What then is Good? Nothing, but Prudence. And what is Prudence? Nothing, but the Science of Good. There is much then of *Jupiters Corinth*, [that is, much Begging of the Question] admitted into their Reasoning. For I would have you let alone the Turning of the Pestle, lest you should seem to mock them; Although an Accident, like to that, has insinuated it self into their Discourse. For it seems, that to the Understanding of Good, one has need to understand Prudence, and to seek for prudence in the Understanding of Good, being forc'd always to pursue the one by the other, and thus failing of both; since to the Understanding of each, we have need of that, which cannot be known, without the other be first understood. But there is yet another way, by which you may perceive not only the Perversion, but the Everfi-

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on of their Discourse, and the reduction of it entirely
to nothing.

They hold the Essence of Good to be the reasonable Election of things according to Nature : Now the Election is not reasonable, which is directed to some End, as has been said before. What then is this? Nothing else, say they, but to reason rightly in the Election of things according to Nature. First then, the Conception of Good is lost and gone : For to reason rightly in Elections is an Operation, proceeding from an Habit of right Reasoning ; and therefore being constrain'd to take this from the End, and the End not without this, we fail of understanding either of them. Besides, which is more, this reasonable Election must be a Choice of things good and reasonable, and co-operating to the End : For how can it be reasonable to choose things, which are neither convenient, nor honorable, nor at all eligible? For be it, as they say, a reasonable Election of things, having a Fitness for the causing Felicity ; see then to what a beautiful and venerable Conclusion their Discourse brings them. For the End is (it seems) according to them, to reason rightly in the Choice of things, which have a Fitness for the procuring of Happiness. Now when you hear these Words, does not, my Friend, what is said, seem to you strangely extravagant?

Lamprias. [Yes indeed :] but I farther want to know, how this happens.

Diadumenus. You must then be more attentive : for 'tis not for every one to understand this Riddle. Hear therefore and answer. Is not the End, according to them, to reason rightly in the Elections of things according to Nature?

Lamprias. So they say.

Diadumenus. And these things according to Nature, are they chosen, as good, or as having some Fitness or Preferences [conducting to Happiness?

Lam-

Lamprias. For this last.]

Diadumenus. And is this for the End, or for something else ?

Lamprias. I think not [for any thing else ;] but for the End.

Diadumenus. Now then, having discover'd the Matter, see, what befalls them. They say, that the End is to reason rightly, and that Men neither have nor understand any thing of Felicity, but this precious Rectitude of Reasoning in the Elections of things, that are of worth. But there are some, who think, that this is spoken against *Antipater*, and not against the whole Sect : for that he, being pers'd by *Carneades*, fell into these Fooleries.

But as for those things, that are against the common Conceptions taught in the *Stoa* concerning Love, they are all of them concern'd in the Absurdity. They say, that those Youths are deform'd, who are vicious and foolish ; and that the Wise are fair ; and yet that none of these beautiful ones is either belov'd, or worthy of being belov'd. Nor yet is this the worst ; but they add, that those deform'd ones, who are belov'd, cease to be so, when they are become fair. Now, whoever knew such a Love, which is kindled, and has its Being at the Sight of the Bodies Deformity, joyn'd with that of the Soul ; and is quench'd and decays at the Accession of Beauty, joyn'd with Prudence, Justice and Temperance ? These Men are not unlike to those Gnats, which love to settle on the Dregs of Wine, or on Vinegar, but shun and fly away from potable and pleasant Wine. As for that, which they call and term an Apparence of Beauty, saying, that it is the Inducement of Love ; first it has no Probability : For in those, who are very foul, and highly wicked, there cannot be an Apparance of Beauty, if indeed the Wickedness of the Disposition fills the Face with Deformity. And what is this at

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last, which some of them say, that the Deformed is
worthy of Love, because he one Day will be fair, and
expects to have Beauty; but that, when he has ob-
tain'd it, and is become fair and good, he is belov'd of
none? For Love, they say, is a certain Hunting af-
ter a young Person, as yet indeed imperfect, but natu-
rally well-dispos'd towards Vertue.

Lamprizs. And what do we now else, O my best
Friend, but demonstrate, that their Sect perverts and
destroys all our common Conceptions with improbable
things, and unusual Expressions? For none would hinder
the Sollicitude of these wise Men towards young Per-
sons, if it were free from that passionate Affection,
which all think and say [to be such, as *Penelope's* Suitors
in *Homer* seem to acknowledge.]

Who all desir'd to lye with her in Bed.

Or as *Jupiter* in another place says to *Juno*.

*For neither Goddess yet, nor mortal Dame,
E're kindled in my Heart so great a Flame.*

Diadumenus. Thus casting moral Philosophy into
these Perplexities, in which there is nothing sound, they
contemn and deride all about them, as if they were the
only Men, who regulating Nature and Custom, as it
ought to be, do accordingly frame their Speech. And
yet Nature by its Desires, Pursuits and Impulses, di-
verts and induces every one to what is fit. But the
Custom of Logic being rendred contentious, has re-
ceiv'd no Benefit or Good, but, like the Ear, diseas'd
by vain Sounds is fill'd with Difficulty and Obscurity.
Of which, if you think good, we will elsewhere begin
a new Discourse. But now we will run through
the cheif and principal Heads of their Natural Philo-
sophy, which no less confounds the common Concep-
tions, than that other concerning Ends. First, this is al-
together absurd, and against Sense, [to say] that is,
which

which is not, and that things, which are not, are. But above all, that is most absurd, which they say of the Universe. For putting round about the Circumference of the World an infinite *Vacuum*, they say, that the Universe neither is a Body, nor bodiless. It follows then from this, that the Universe has no being; since with them, Body only has a Being. Since therefore 'tis the Part of that, which has a Being, both to do and suffer, and the Universe has no being; it follows, that the Universe will neither do nor suffer, neither will it be in a Place. For that which takes up Place, is a Body, and the Universe is not a Body. And since that only rests, which continues in one and the same Place, the Universe rests not, because it takes not up Place. Neither yet is it mov'd, for what is mov'd must have a Place and Space subjected. Moreover, what is mov'd, either moves it self, or suffers Motion from another. Now that, which is mov'd by it self, has some Bents and Inclinations, proceeding from its Gravity or Levity: Now Gravity and Levity are certain Habits, or Faculties, or Differences of every Body. But the Universe is not a Body: It follows then of Necessity, that the Universe is neither heavy nor light, and consequently that it has not in it self any Principle of Motion. Nor yet will the Universe be mov'd by any other: For there is nothing else, besides the Universe. Thus are they necessitated to say, as they do, that the Universe neither rests, nor is mov'd. Lastly, since, according to their Opinion, it must not be said, that the Universe is a Body; and yet the Heaven, the Earth, Animals, Plants, Men and Stones, are Bodies; that, which is no Body, will have Bodies for its Parts; and things, which have Existence, will be parts of that, which has no Existence; and that, which is not heavy, will have parts, that are heavy, and what is not light, Parts, that are light, than which there cannot be any Dreams imagin'd more repugnant

pugnant to the common Conceptions. Moreover, there is nothing so evident, or so agreeing to common Sense, as that what is not animate, is animate; and what is not inanimate, is inanimate. And yet they overthrow also this Evidence, confessing the Universe to be neither animate nor inanimate. Besides this, none thinks the Universe, of which there is no part wanting, to be imperfect: But they deny the Universe to be perfect: saying, that what is perfect, may be defin'd; but the Universe, because of its Infiniteness, cannot be defin'd. Therefore, according to them, there is something, which is neither perfect, nor imperfect. Moreover, the Universe is neither a Part, since there is nothing greater than it; nor the Whole, for the Whole, they say, is predicated only of that, which is digested into Order; but the Universe is thro' its Infiniteness undetermin'd, and unorder'd. Moreover, there is not any cause of the Universe, there being nothing besides the Universe; nor is the Universe the Cause either of other things, or of it self: For its Nature suffers it not to act; and a Cause is understood by Acting. Suppose now, one should ask all Men, what they imagin *Nothing* to be, and what Notion they have of it; would they not answer, that it is neither a Cause, nor has a Cause, that 'tis neither the Whole, nor a Part, that 'tis neither perfect, nor imperfect, that 'tis neither animate nor inanimate, that it is neither mov'd, nor rests, nor subsists, that 'tis neither corporeal, nor incorporeal; and that this, and no other thing, is meant by *Nothing*? Since then they alone predicate that of the *Universe*, which all others do of *Nothing*, it seems plain, that they make the *Universe* and *Nothing* to be the same. Time must then be said to be *Nothing* [the same also must be said of] Predicate, Axiom, Connex, Complex; which [Terms though] they use more than any of the other Philosophers, [yet] they say, that they are *Non entia*, [or things,

things, that have no Being] But farther to say, that what is true, has no Being, or Subsistence, but is comprehended ; and that that is comprehensible and credible, which no way partakes of the Essence of Being ; does not this exceed all Absurdity ?

But least these things should seem to have too much of Logical Difficulty, let us proceed to such as pertain more to Natural Philosophy. Since then, as themselves say,

Jove is of all Beginning, Midst and End :

They ought chiefly to have apply'd themselves to remedy, redress and reduce to the best [Order] the Conceptions concerning the Gods, if there were in them any thing confus'd or erroneous ; or if not, to have left every one in those Sentiments, which they had from the Laws and Custom concerning the Divinity :

*Since neither now nor yesterday began
These Thoughts ; but have been ever ; nor yet can
A Man be found, who their first Entrance knows.*

But these Men, having begun as it were from *Vesta* to disturb the Opinions settled, and receiv'd in every Country concerning the Gods, have not (to speak sincerely) left any thing entire and uncorrupted. For what Man is there, or ever was, except these, who does not believe the Divinity to be immortal, and eternal ? Or what is in the common Anticipations more unanimously chanted forth concerning the Gods, than such things, as these :

*There the blest Gods eternally enjoy
Their sweet Delights ———*

And again,

Both Gods immortal, and Earth dwelling Men.

And

And again,

*Exempt from Sicknefs, and Old Age, are they
And free from Toil, and have escap'd the Bay
Of roaring Acheron——*

One may perhaps light upon some Nations so barbarous and savage, as not to think, there is a God; but there was never found any Man, who, believing a God, did not at the same time believe him immortal and eternal. Certainly, those who were call'd Atheists, the *Theodores*, *Diagorases* and *Hippens*, durst not say, that the Divinity is corruptible; but they did not believe, that there is any thing incorruptible: Not indeed admitting the Subsistence of an Incorruptibility, but keeping the Anticipation of a God. But *Chrysippus* and *Cleanthes*, having fill'd, as one may say, Heaven, Earth, Air and Sea, with Gods, have not yet made any one of all these Gods immortal, or eternal, except *Jupiter* alone, in whom they consume all the rest; so that in him to consume, is nothing better than to be consum'd. For 'tis an Infirmary both to perish by being resolv'd into another, and to be sav'd by being nourish'd by the Resolution of others into himself. Now these are not like other of their Absurdities, gather'd by Argument from their Suppositions, or drawn by Consequence from their Doctrines; but they themselves, proclaiming it aloud in their Writings concerning the Gods, Providence, Fate and Nature expressly say, that all the Gods were born, and shall dye by the Fire, melting away, in their Opinion, as if they were of Wax or Tin. 'Tis indeed as much against common Sense, that God should be mortal, as that Man should be immortal; nay, indeed I do not see, what the Difference between God and Man will be, if God also is a reasonable and corruptible Animal. For if they oppose this fine and subtle Distinction, that Man is mortal, and God not mortal, but corrup-

corruptible, see, what they get by it. For they will either say, that God is at the same time both immortal and corruptible, or else that he neither is mortal nor immortal; the Absurdity of which even those cannot exceed, who set themselves industriously to devise Positions, repugnant to common Sense. I speak of others; for these Men have left no one of the absurdest things unspeaken or unattempted.

To these things *Cleanthes*, contending for the Conflagration of the World, says, that the Sun will make the Moon, and all the other Stars, like to himself, and will change them into himself. Indeed if the Stars, being Gods, should contribute any thing to the Sun towards their own Destruction, 'twould be very ridiculous for us to make Prayers to them for our Salvation, and to think them the Saviours of Men, whose Nature it is to accelerate their own Corruption and Dissolution. And yet these Men leave nothing unsaid against *Epicurus*, crying, *Out, out, Fy, fy upon him*, as confounding their Presumption concerning God, by taking away Providence; for God is not only presum'd and understood to be immortal and happy, but also a Lover of Men, and careful of them, and beneficial to them; and herein they say true. Now if they, who abolish Providence, take away the Pre-conception concerning God; what do they, who say, that the Gods indeed have care of us, but deny them to be helpful to us, and make them not Bestowers of good things, but of indifferent ones; giving to wit, not Vertue, but Wealth, Health, Children, and such like things, none of which is helpful, profitable, desirable or available? Or do not those indeed take away the Conceptions concerning the Gods, but these also scoff at them, and deride them, saying, that one God is a Fruiterer, another a Marriage-Broker, another a Physician, and another a Divine? And yet neither Health, nor Issue, nor plenty of Fruits,

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Fruits, are good, but unprofitable to those, who have them.

The third Point of the Conception concerning the God is, that the Gods do in nothing so much differ from Men, as in Happiness and Vertue. But, according to *Chrysippus*, they have not so much as this Difference: For [he says] that *Jupiter* does not exceed *Dion* in Vertue, but that *Jupiter* and *Dion*, being both wise, are equally aided by one another, when the one enjoys the Motion of the other. For this, and none else, is the Good, which the Gods do to Men, and Men likewise to the God, when they are Wise. For they say, that a Man, who falls not short in Vertue, comes not behind them also in Felicity; and that he, who, being tormented with Diseases and violent Pains of the Body, makes himself away, is equally happy with *Jupiter* the Saviour, provided he be but Wise. But this Man neither is, nor ever was upon the Earth, but there are infinite millions of Men, unhappy to the highest degree, in the State and Government of *Jupiter*, which is most excellently administred. Now, what can be more against Sense, than that, *Jupiter* governing exceedingly well, we should be exceedingly miserable? But if, which 'tis unlawful even to say, he would no longer be a Saviour, nor a Deliverer, nor a Protector, but the contrary to all these glorious Appellations, there can no Goodness be added to the things, that are, neither as to their Multitude, nor Magnitude, as these Men say, all Men living to the height miserably and wickedly, and Vice neither receiving Addition, nor Unhappiness Increase.

Nor is this the worst; but they are angry with *Mendander* for saying upon the Stage;

*The chief Beginning of Mens Miseries
Are things exceeding good. —*

For

For that this is against Sense. And yet they make God, who is good, the Beginning of Evils. For Matter produc'd not any Evil of it self: for it is without Quality, and whatever Differences it has, it has receiv'd them all from that, which moves, and forms it: if indeed Reason, which is within, does also form it, not being made to move and form it self. So that of necessity, Evil, if [it come] by Nothing, must have been produc'd from that, which has no Being; but if by some moving Principle, from God. But if they think, that *Jupiter* has not the Command of his Parts, nor uses every one of them according to his Reason, they speak against common Sense, and imagin an Animal, many of whose Parts are not subservient to his Will, using their own Operations and Actions, to which the whole gives no Incitation, nor begins their Motion. For there is nothing, which has Life, so ill compacted, as that against its Will, its Feet should go, its Tongue speak, its Horns push, or its Teeth bite. The most of which things God must of necessity suffer, if the Wicked, being Parts of him, do against his Will lye, cheat, rob and murder one another. But if, as *Chrysippus* says, the very least part cannot possibly behave it self otherwise, than according to *Jupiters* Pleasure, and if every living thing is so fram'd by Nature, as to rest and move according as he inclines it, and as he turns, stays and disposes it:

This Saying is more impious than the former.

For 'twere more tolerable to say, that many Parts of *Jupiter* are through his Weakness and Want of Power, hurry'd on to do many absurd things against his Nature and Will, than that there is not any Intemperance or Wickedness, of which *Jupiter* is not the Cause.

Moreover [since they affirm] the World to be a City, and the Stars Citizens, if this [be so, there must be also]

also] Tribes and Magistrates, the Sun [must be some] Consul, and the Evening Star a Prætor or Mayor of a City. Now I know not, whether any one, that shall go about to confute them for asserting and affirming such things, can shew any greater Absurdities than those things, which, they say, are most natural.

Is it not therefore against Sense [to say,] that the Seed is more and greater than that which is produc'd of it? For we see, that Nature in all Animals and Plants, even those, that are wild, has taken small, slender, and scarce visible things for Principles of Generation to the greatest. For it does not only from a Grain of Wheat produce an Ear-bearing Stalk, or a Vine from the Stone of a Grape, but from a small Berry, or Acorn, which has escap'd being eaten by the Bird, kindling and setting a fire Generation, as it were from a little Spark, it sends forth the Stock of a Bush or the tall Body of an Oak, Palm, or Pine Tree. Where also they say, that Seed is in Greek call'd *σπέρμα*, as it were *σπείραν*, or the wrapping up of a great Mass in a little Compass, and that Nature has the Name of *φύσις*, as if it were *εμπύσις*, the Inflation and Diffusion of Reason and Numbers, open'd and loosen'd by it. And again, the Fire of the World, which, they say, is its Seed, shall after the Conflagration change into its own Seed the World, having a copious Nature from a smaller Body and Bulk, and possessing an infinite space of *Vacuum*, fill'd by its Increase, and the World being made, the Weakness again recedes and settles, the Matter being after the Generation gather'd and contracted into it self. You may hear them, and read many of their Writings, in which they jangle with the *Academics*, and cry out against them, as confounding all things with their *Aparallaxes*, [that is,] in distinguishable Identities, vehemently contending, that there is but one qualify'd in two Substances. And yet there is no Man, who under-
stands

stands not this, and would not on the contrary think it wonderful and extremely strange, if there should not at all times be found a Stock-Dove to a Stock-Dove, a Bee to a Bee, a Grain of Wheat to a Grain of Wheat, nor, as the Proverb has it, one Fig to another, exactly, and in all respects, alike.

But these things are plainly against common Sense, which the *Stoics* say, and feign, that there are in one Substance two particularly qualify'd, and that the same Substance, which has particularly one qualify'd, receives and equally conserves them both. For if there may be two, there may be also three, four and five, and even as many, as you can name, in one and the same Substance, I say not, in its different Parts, but all equally, though even infinite in the whole. *Chrysippus* then says, that *Jupiter* is like to Man, as is also the World, and Providence to the Soul. When therefore the Conflagration shall be, *Jupiter*, who alone of all the Gods is incorruptible, will retire into Providence, and they being together, will both perpetually remain in one Substance of the *Æther*.

But leaving now the Gods, and beseeching them to give [these *Stoics*] common Sense, and a common Understanding, let us look into their Doctrins concerning the Elements. 'Tis against the common Conceptions, that one Body should be the Place of another, or that a Body should penetrate through a Body, neither of them containing any Vacuity; but the Full passing into the Full, and that, which has no distance, being Full, and not having any Place by reason of its Continuity, receiving the Mixture. But these Men, not thrusting one thing into one, nor yet two, or three, or ten together; but jumbling all the Parts of the World, being cut piece-meal, in any one thing, which they shall first light on, and saying, that the very least, which is perceiv'd by Sense, will contain the greatest, that shall

come unto it, boldly frame a new Doctrin, as in many other things, of that, which convinces them, taking for their Suppositions things repugnant to common Sense. And presently upon this [they are forc'd] to admit into their Discourse many monstrous and strange Positions, mixing whole Bodies with whole; of which this also is one, that three are four: for this others put as an Example of those things, which cannot be conceiv'd even in thought. But to the *Stoics* it is a Matter of Truth, that one Cup of Wine, being mixt with two of Water, it will not fail but equal them, extending the whole and confounding it, to make that, which is one, two, by the Equality of the Mixture with two; For that one remains, and is extended as much as two, and makes that, which is equal to the Double. Now if it happens in the Mixture with two to take the Measure of two in the Diffusion, that is together the Measure both of three and four; of three, because one is mixt with two; and of four because being mixt with two, it has an equal Quantity with those, with which it is mixt. Now this fine Subtilty is a Consequence of their putting Bodies into a Body, and the untelligibleness of the Manner, how one is contain'd in the Other. For 'tis of necessity, that of Bodies, passing one into another by Mixture, the one should not contain, and the other be contain'd, nor the one receive, and the other be receiv'd within; for this would not be a Mixture, but a Contiguity and Touching of the Superficies, the one entring in, and the other enclosing it without, and the rest of the Parts remaining unmixt and pure, and so it would be one, of many different things. But there being a Necessity according to their Axiom of Mixture, that the things, which are mixt, should be mingled one within the other, and that the same thing should together be contain'd by being within, and by receiving, contain the other, and that neither of them can possibly be again,
[what

[what it was before,] it comes to pass, that both the Subjects of the Mixture mutually penetrate each other, and that there is not any part of either remaining separate; but that they are necessarily all fill'd with each other. Here now that Leg of *Arcefilaus* comes in, with much Laughter insulting over their Absurdities; for if these Mixtions are through the whole, what should hinder, but that, this Leg being cut off, and putrify'd, and cast into the Sea, and diffus'd, not only *Antigonus's* Fleet, as *Arcefilaus* said, might sail through it, but also *Xerxes's* twelve hundred Ships, together with the *Grecians* three hundred Gallies, might fight in it? For the Progress will not henceforth fail, nor the lesser cease to be in the greater, or else the Mixture will be at an end, and the Extremity of it, touching, where it shall end, will not pass through the whole, but will give over being mingled. But if the Mixture is through the whole, will not the Leg indeed afford the *Greeks* room for the Sea-fight; but to this there is need of Putrefaction and Change? But if one Glass, or but one Drop of Wine shall fall from hence into the *Ægean* or *Cretian* Sea, it will pass into the *Ocean* or main *Atlantic* Sea, not lightly touching its Superficies, but being spread quite through it in Depth, Breadth and Length. And this *Chrysippus* admits, saying immediately in his first Book of Natural Questions, that there is nothing to hinder one Drop of Wine from being mixt with the whole Sea. And that we may not wonder at this, he says, that this one Drop will by Mixtion extend through the whole World, than which, I know not any thing, that can appear more absurd.

And this also is against Sense, that there is not in the Nature of Bodies any thing either Supream, or first, or last, in which the Magnitude of the Body may terminate; but that the *Phænomenon* of it, still going on, carries the Subject to Infinity and Undeterminateness. For

one Body cannot be imagin'd greater or less than another, if both of them may by their Parts proceed in *Infinitem*; but the Nature of Inequality is taken away: For of things, that are esteem'd unequal, the one falls short in its last Parts, and the other goes on, and exceeds. Now if there is no Inequality, it follows, that there is no Unevenness, nor Roughness of Bodies: For Unevenness is the Inequality of the same Superficies with it self, and Roughness is an Unevenness, joyn'd with Hardness; neither of which is left us by those who terminate no Body in its last part, but extend them all by the Multitude of their Parts unto an Infinity. And yet is it not evident, that a Man consists of more Parts, than a Finger, and the World of more than a Man? This indeed all Men know and understand, unless they become *Stoics*; but if they are once *Stoics*, they on the contrary say and think, that a Man has no more Parts than a Finger, nor the World than a Man. For Division reduces Bodies to an Infinity; and of Infinites neither is more, or less, or exceeds in Multitude, nor will the Parts of the Remainder cease to be divided, and to afford a Multitude of themselves. How then do they extricate themselves out of these Difficulties? Surely with very great Cunning and Courage. For *Chrysippus* says, that being askt, if we have any Parts, and how many, and of what, and how many other Parts, they consist, we are to use a Distinction, making it a Position, that the whole Body is compacted of the Head Trunk, and Legs, as if that were all, which is enquir'd and doubted of. But if they extend their Interrogation to the last Parts, no such thing is to be undertaken, but we are to say, that they consist not of any certain Parts, nor yet of so many, nor of infinite, nor of finite. And I seem to my self to have us'd his very Words, that you may perceive, how he maintains the common Notions, forbidding us to think, of what, or how many Parts every
 Body

Body is compacted, and whether of infinite or finite. For if there were any *Medium* between Finite and Infinite, as *Indifferent* is between Good and Evil, he should by telling us, what that is, have soly'd the Difficulty. But if, as that, which is not equal, is presently understood to be unequal, and that, which is not mortal, to be immortal, we also understand, that, which is not finite, to be immediately infinite; to say, that a Body consists of Parts, neither finite, nor infinite, is, in my Opinion, the same thing, as to affirm, that an Argument is compacted of Positions, neither true, nor false [and Number neither of Even, nor Odd.] To this, he with a certain youthful Rashness adds, that, a Pyramid consisting of Triangles, the Sides inclining according to the Juncture, are unequal, and yet do not extend one another, in that they are greater.

Thus does he keep the common Notions. For if there is any thing greater, and not exceeding, there will be also something less, and not deficient; and so also some thing unequal, which neither exceeds, nor is deficient; that is, there will be an equal thing unequal, a greater not greater, and a less not less. See it yet farther, in what manner he answer'd *Democritus*, enquiring philosophically and earnestly, if a Cone is divided by a Level at the Basis, what is to be thought of the Superficies of its Segments, whether they are equal, or unequal; for if they are unequal, they will render the Cone uneven, receiving many Step-like Incisions and Roughnesses; but if they are equal, the Sections also will be equal, and the Cone will seem to be affected in the same manner, as the Cylinder, to wit, to be compos'd not of unequal, but of equal Circles; which is most absurd. Here, that he may convince *Democritus* of Ignorance, he says, that the Superficies are neither equal or unequal; but that the Bodies are unequal, because the Superficies are neither equal nor unequal. Indeed to assert this for a Law, that

Bodies happen to be unequal, the Superficies not being unequal, is the part of a Man, who takes to himself a wonderful Liberty of Writing, what ever comes into his Head. For Reason and manifest Evidence on the contrary gives us to understand, that the Superficies of unequal Bodies are unequal, and that the bigger the Body is, the greater also is the Superficies, unless the Excess, by which it is the greater, is void of a Superficies. For if the Superficies of the greater Bodies do not exceed those of the less, but sooner fail, the Part of that Body, which has an end, will be without an End, and Infinite. For if he says that he is compell'd to this [lest the Inequality of the Superficies might make unequal Incisions, there is no Reason for it.] For those rabbotted Incisions, which he suspects in a Cone, are made by the Inequality of the Body, and not of the Superficies. 'Twere ridiculous therefore, that the taking away the Superficies should leave a manifest Unevenness in the Bodies.

But to persist still in this Matter, what is more repugnant to Sense, than the imagining of such things? For if we admit, that one Superficies is neither equal nor unequal to another, we may say also of Magnitude, and of Number, that one is neither equal nor unequal to another, and this, not having any thing, that we can call or think to be a Neuter, or *Medium* between Equal and Unequal. Besides, if there are Superficies, neither equal nor unequal, what hinders, but there may be also Circles, neither equal nor unequal? For indeed these Superficies of Conic Sections are Circles. And if Circles, why may not also their Diameters be neither equal nor unequal? And if so, why not also Angles, Triangles, Parallelograms, Parallelepipedes and Bodies? For if Longitudes are neither equal nor unequal to one another, neither will Weight, Percussion, or Bodies be equal or unequal. How then dare these
Men

Men inveigh against those, who introduce Vacuities, and suppose, that there are some *Individuums*, and things, combating each other, which neither move, nor are still: when themselves affirm such Axioms, as these to be false: *If any things are not equal to one another, they are unequal to one another; and these things are not equal to one another, therefore they are unequal to one another.* But because he says, that there is something greater, and yet not exceeding, it were worth the while to ask, whether these things quadrate with one another. For if they quadrate, how is either the greater? and if they do not quadrate, how can it be, but the one must exceed, and the other fall short? For if neither of these be, it will not quadrate with the greater, or it will also quadrate, that the other is the greater. For those, who keep not the common Conceptions, must of Necessity fall into such Perplexities.

'Tis moreover against Sense to say, that nothing touches another; nor is this less, that Bodies touch one another, but touch by nothing. For they are necessitated to admit these things, who leave not the least Parts of a Body, but receive any thing, which is before that, which seems to touch, and never cease to pass still on farther. What therefore these Men principally object to the Patrons of [those] indivisible [Bodies, call'd Atoms] is this, that there is neither a touching of the whole, nor of the Parts by the Parts; for that this makes not a Touching, but a Mixture, and that this is not possible, these Individuals having no Parts. How then do not they themselves fall into the same Inconvenience, leaving no first or last Part whilst they say, that whole Bodies, mutually touch one another by a Term [or Extremity] and not by a Part? but this Term is not a Body. Therefore one Body shall touch another by that, which is incorporeal, and again shall not touch that, which is incorporeal, coming between them. And if it shall touch,

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the Body shall both do and suffer something by that, which is incorporeal. For 'tis the Nature of Bodies mutually to do and suffer, and to touch. But if the Body has a Touching by that, which is incorporeal, it will have also a Contact, and a Mixture, and a Coalition. Again, in these Contacts and Mixtures, the Extremities of the Bodies must either remain, or not remain, but to be corrupted. Now both of these are against Sense. For neither do they themselves admit Corruptions and Generations of incorporeal things, nor can there be a Mixture and Coalition of Bodies, retaining their own Extremities. For the Extremity determines and constitutes the Nature of the Body; and Mixtions, unless the mutual laying of Parts by Parts are thereby understood, wholly confound all those things that are mixt. And, as these Men say, we must admit the Corruptions of Extremities in Mixtures, and their Generation again in the Separations of them. But this none can easily understand; for by what Bodies mutually touch each other, by the same they press, thrust and crush each other. Now to do or suffer this by things, that are incorporeal, is impossible, and not so much as to be imagin'd. But by this they [would] constrain us to understand it. For if a Sphere [or round Body] touch a Plane [or flat Body] by a Point, 'tis manifest, that it may be also roll'd upon the Plain, by a Point, and if the Superficies of it is painted with Vermilion, it will imprint a red Line on the Plain, and if it is fiery hot, it will burn [or scorch] the Plain. Now for an incorporeal thing to color, or a Body to be burnt by that, which is incorporeal, is against Sense. But if we should imagin an earthen or glassy Sphere to fall from an high or a Plain of Stone, 'twere against Reason to think, it would not be broken, being struck against that which is hard and solid; but 'twould be more absurd, that it should be broken, falling by an
Ex.

Extremity, or Point, that is incorporeal. So that the Anticipations concerning things Incorporeal and Corporeal are wholly disturb'd, or rather taken away, by their joyning to them many Impossibilities.

'Tis also against common Sense, that there should be a Time future and past, but no time present, and that *Exemhile* and *Lately* subsist, but *Now* is nothing at all. Yet this often befalls the *Stoics*, who admit not the least time [between] nor will allow the Present to be indivisible; but whatsoever any one thinks to take and understand, as present, one part of that they say to be future, and the other part past; so that there is no Part remaining or left of the present Time; but of that, which is said to be present, one part is distributed to the future, the other to the past. Therefore one of these two things follows, either that holding there was a Time, and there will be a Time, we must deny, there is a Time; or must hold, that there is a Time present, part of which has already been, and part will be; and say, that of that, which now is, one part is future, and the other past; and that of *Now*, one part is before, and the other behind; and that *Now* is that, which is neither yet *Now*, nor still *Now*; for that, which is past, is no longer *Now*, and that, which is to come, is not yet *Now*. And dividing [thus the present, they must needs] say of the [Year, and of the Light] that part of it was of the Year past, and part will be of the Year to come; and that of what is together, there is a first and a last. For no less are they perplext, confounding together these Terms, *Not yet*, and *Already*, and *No longer*, and *Now*, and *Not now*. But all other Men suppose, esteem and think, *Exemhile*, and a *While* hence to be different parts of Time from *Now*, which is follow'd by the one, and preceded by the other. But *Archedemus*, saying, that *Now* is the Beginning and Juncture of that, which is past, and that, which is near at hand, perceiv'd not ('tis likely) that

that he thereby took away all Time. For if *Now* is no Time, but only a Term [or Extremity] of Time, and every part of Time is such, as *Now*, all Time seems to have no Parts, but to be wholly dissolv'd into Terms, Joynts and Beginnings. But *Chrysippus*, desiring to shew more Artifice in his Division, in his [Book] of *Vacuity*, and some others, says, that the past and future Time are not, but either have subsisted, or will subsist, and that the present only is; but in his third, fourth and fifth Book concerning Parts, he asserts, that of the present time one part is past, the other to come. Thus it comes to pass, that he divides subsisting Time into non-subsisting [Parts] of a subsisting [Total] or rather leaves nothing at all of Time subsisting, if the present has no part, but what is either future or past. These Mens Conception therefore of Time is not unlike the Grasping of Water, which, the harder it is held, the more it slides and runs away. As to Actions and Motions, all Evidence is utterly confounded. For if *Now* is divided into past and future, 'tis of necessity, that what is now mov'd, partly has been mov'd, and partly shall be mov'd; that the End and Beginning of Motion be taken away; that nothing of any Work has been done first, nor shall any thing be last, the Actions being distributed with Time. For as they say, that of Present Time, part is past, and part to come; so of that, which is doing [it will be said] that part is done, and part shall be done. When therefore had to *Dine*, to *Write*, to *Walk*, a Beginning? when shall they have an End? if every one, who Dines, has Din'd, and shall Dine, and every one, who Walks, has Walk'd, and shall Walk? But this is, as 'tis said, of all Absurdities the most absurd, if he, who now Lives, has already liv'd, and shall live; [for then] to *Live*, neither had Beginning, nor shall have end; but every one of us, as it seems, was born without beginning, and shall dye without ceasing to live.

For

For if there is no last part, but he, who lives, has something of the present still remaining for the future [to say] Socrates *shall live*, will never be false as long as it shall be true [to say] Socrates *lives*; [and as long as it shall be true to say, Socrates *shall live*] it will be false [to say] Socrates *is dead*. So that if [to say] Socrates *shall live*, is true in infinite parts of Time, it will in no part of Time be true [to say] Socrates *is dead*. And verily what End will there be of a Work? And where will you terminate an Action, if as often, as 'tis true [to say] *This is doing*, 'tis likewise true to say, *This shall be doing*? For he will lie, who shall say, there will be an End of Plato's Writing and Disputing: Since Plato will never give over to [Write and] Dispute, it 'tis never false [to say] of him who disputes, that he shall dispute, and of him who writes, that he shall write. Moreover, there will be no part of that, which now is, but either has been, or is to be, and either past or future; but of what has been, and is to be, of past and future there is no Sense: Therefore is absolutely no Sense of any thing. For we neither see what is past or future, nor do we hear, or have any other Sense of what has been, or is to be. Nor is, what is present, to be perceiv'd by Sense, if of the present part is always future, and part past; part has been, and part is to be.

Now they indeed say, that *Epicurus* does intolerable things, and violates the Conceptions in moving all Bodies with equal celerity, and admitting none of them to be swifter than another. And yet it is much more intolerable, and farther remote from Sense, that nothing can be overtaken by another.

*Not, though Adrastus's swift-footed Steed
Should chase the Tortoise slow, —*

As the Proverb has it. Now this must of necessity fall out, if, things moving according to *Before* and *Behind*,
the

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the Intervals [or Spaces] through which they pass, are,
as these Men Tenet is, divisible in *Infinitem*; for if the
Tortoise [is] but a furlong [before] the Horse, they,
who divide this [Furlong] in *infinitem*, and move them
both according to *Prius* and *Posterius*, will never bring
the swiftest to the slowest; the slower always adding
some Interval [or Space] divisible into infinite Spaces:
Now to affirm, that, Water being pour'd from a Bowl
or Cup, it will never be all pour'd out, is it not both
against common Sense, and a Consequence of what
these Men say? For no Man can understand the Mo-
tion according to *Before* of things, divisible in *infinitem*,
to be consummated; but leaving always somewhat di-
visible, it will make all the Effusion, all the Running
and Flux of a Liquid, Motion of a Solid, and Fall of
an heavy thing imperfect. I pass by many Absurdities
of theirs, touching only such, as are against Sense.

The Dispute concerning Increase is indeed ancient;
for the Question, as *Chrysippus* says, was put by *Epichar-
mus*. Now, whereas those of the Academy think, that
the Doubt is not very easie, these Men have mightily ex-
claim'd against them, and accus'd them of taking away the
Anticipations, and yet themselves are so far from pre-
serving the common Notions, that they pervert even
Sense it self. For the Discourse is simple, and these
Men grant the Suppositions, that all particular Sub-
stances flow, and are carry'd; some of them emitting
forth somewhat from themselves, and others receiving
things coming from elsewhere; and that the things, to
which there is made an Accession, or from which there is
a Decession by Numbers and Multitudes, do not remain
the same, but become others by the said Accessions, the
Substance receiving a Change; and that these Changes
are not rightly call'd by Custom Increasings or Diminu-
tions; when 'tis fitter, they should be stil'd Generations
and Corruptions, because they drive by force from one
State

State to another ; whereas to increase and be diminish'd are Passions of a Body, that is subject and permanent. These things being thus in a manner said and deliver'd, what would these Defenders of Evidence and Canonical Reformers of Conceptions have ? Every one of us to be double, twin-like, and compos'd of a double Nature ; not as the Poets feign'd of the *Molionidae*, that they in some parts grow together, and in some parts are separated ; but every one of us to have two Bodies, having the same Colour, the same Figure, the same Weight and Place** things never before seen by any Man ; but these Men alone have discern'd this Composition, Doubtfulness and Ambiguity, how every one of us is two Subjects, the one in Substance, the other*** and the one is in perpetual Flux and Motion, neither increasing, nor being diminish'd, nor remaining altogether, the other remains and increases, and is diminish'd, and suffers all things contrary to the former, with which it is conconcorporate, conjoyn'd and confounded, and exhibits not any difference to be perceiv'd by Sense. Indeed that *Lynceus* is said to have penetrated Stones and Oaks with his Sight, and a certain Man, sitting on a Watch-Tower in *Sicily*, beheld the Ships of the *Carthaginians* setting forth from their Harbor, which was a Days and a Nights Sail from thence. *Callicrates* and *Myrmecides* are said to have made Chariots, that might be cover'd with the Wings of a Fly, and to have engrav'd *Homers* Verses on a Sesam-seed. But none ever discern'd or discover'd this Diversity and Motion in us ; nor have we perceiv'd our selves to be double, in one part always flowing, and in the other remaining the same from our Birth, even to our Death. But I make the Discourse more simple, since they make four Subjects in every one, or rather every one of us to be four. But two are sufficient to shew their Absurdity. For if, when we hear *Pentheus* in the Tragedy affirm, that he sees two
Suns,

Suns, and two Cities of *Thebes*, we say, that he does not see, but that his Sight dazles he being transported and troubled in his Discourses: Why do we not bid those Farewel, who assert not one City alone, but all Men, and Animals, and all Trees, Vessels, Instruments and Cloaths, to be double, and compos'd of two, as Men, who constrain us to doat, rather than to understand. But this feigning other Natures of Subjects, must perhaps be pardon'd them: For there appears no other Invention, by which they can maintain and uphold the Augmentations, of which they are so fond.

But by what Cause mov'd, or for the adorning of what other Suppositions, they frame in a manner innumerable Differences and Ideas of Bodies in the Soul, there is none can say, unless it be, that they would remove, or rather wholly abdicate and destroy the common and usual Notions, for to introduce other Foreign and Strange ones. For 'tis very absurd, that making all Vertues and Vices, and with them, all Arts, Memories, Fancies, Passions, Impulses and Assents to the Bodies, they should affirm, that they neither lye nor subsist in any Subject, leaving them for a Place one only Hole, like a Prick, in the Heart, where they crowd the principal part of the Soul, enclos'd with so many Bodies, that a very great number of them lies hid, even from those, who think, they can separate and distinguish them one from another: Nay, that they should not only make them Bodies, but also rational Creatures, and even a Swarm of such Creatures, not friendly or gentle, but a Multitude rebelling by their Malice against Evidence and Custom. But they say that not only Vertues and Vices, not only the Passions, as Anger, Envy, Grief and Maliciousness; not only Comprehensions, Fancies and Ignorances, not only Arts, as Shoo-making, and working in Brass are Animals; but besides these, also they make even the Operations, Bodies and Animals,

[saying,

[saying, that] Walking is an Animal, as also Dancing, Supposing, Saluting, and Railing. The Consequence of this is, that Laughing and Weeping are also Animals; and if so, then also Coughing, Sneezing, Groaning, Spitting, Blowing the Nose, and other such-like things sufficiently known. Neither have they any Cause to take it ill, that they are by Reason, proceeding leisurly, reduced to this, if they shall call to mind, how *Chrysippus*, in his Book of *Natural Questions* argues thus. *Is not Night a Body? And are not then the Evening, Dawning and Midnight Bodies? Or is not a Day a Body? Is not then the first Day of the Month a Body? And the Tenth, the Fifteenth, and the Thirtieth, [are they not Bodies?] Is not a Month a Body? Summer, Autumn and the Year, [are they not Bodies?]*

These things [which we have already mention'd] they hold against the common Conceptions; but those, which follow, also against their own, engendring that, which is most hot, by refrigeration, and that, which is most subtil, by Condensation. For the Soul, to wit, is [a Substance] most hot, and most subtil. But this they make by the Refrigeration and Condensation of the Body, Changing, as it were by Induration, the Spirit, which of Vegetative is made Animal. Moreover, they say that the Sun became animated, his Moisture changing into intellectual Fire. Behold how the Sun is imagin'd to be engendred by Refrigeration. *Xenophanes* indeed, when one told him, that he had seen Eeles living in hot Water, answer'd, *We will boil them then in cold.* But if these Men engender Heat by Refrigeration, and Lightness by Condensation, it follows, they must also generate cold things by Heat, thick things by Dissolution, and heavy things by Rarefaction, that so they may keep some Proportion in their Absurdity.

And do they not also determin the Substance and Generation of Conception it self, even against the [common]

mon] Conceptions? For Conception is a certain Imagination, and Imagination an Impression in the Soul. Now the Nature of the Soul is an Exhalation, in which it is difficult for an Impression to be made, because of its Tenuity, and for which to keep an Impression, it may have receiv'd, 'tis impossible. For its Nutriment and Generation, consisting of moist things, has continual Succession and Consumption. And the Mixture of Respiration with the Air, always makes some new Exhalation, alter'd and chang'd by the Flux of the Air, coming from abroad, and again going out. For one may more easily imagin, that a Stream of running Water can retain Figures, Impressions and Images, than a Spirit, which being carry'd in Vapors and Humors, is continually mingled with another idle and strange Breath from without. But these Men so far forget themselves, that having defin'd the Conceptions to be certain stor'd up Intelligences and Memoirs to be constant and habitual Impressions; and having wholly fixt the Sciences, as having stability and firmness, they presently place under them a Basis and Seat of a slippery Substance, easie to be dissipated, and in perpetual Flux and Motion.

Now the common Conception of an Element and Principle, naturally imprinted in almost all Men, is this, that it is simple, unmixt and uncompounded. For that is not an Element or Principle, which is mixt; but those things [are so,] of which it is mixt. But these Men, making God, who is the Principle [of all things] to be an intellectual Body, and a Mind seated in Matter, pronounce him to be neither simple, nor uncompounded, but [to be compos'd] of, and by another Matter indeed, being of it self without Reason, and void of Quality, has Simplicity and the Property of a Principle. If then God is not incorporeal and immaterial, he participates of Matter, as a Principle. For if
Matter

Matter and Reason are one and the same thing, they have not rightly defin'd Matter to be reasonless; but if they are different things, then is God constituted of them both, and is not a simple, but compound thing, having to the Intellectual taken the Corporeal from Matter.

Moreover, calling these four Bodies, Earth, Water, Air and Fire, the first Elements, they do, I know not how, make some of them simple and pure, and others compound and mixt: For they hold, that Earth and Water neither contain themselves nor other things, but preserve their Unity by the Participation of Air, and Force of Fire; but that Air and Fire do both fortifie themselves by their own strength, and being mixt with the other two, give them Force, Permanence and Subsistence. How then is either Earth or Water, an Element, if neither of them is either simple, or first, or self-sufficient; but wanting somewhat from without, to contain and keep it in its Being? For they have not left so much as a Thought of their Substance; but this Discourse concerning the Earth has much Confusion and Uncertainty, [when they say, that it subsists] of it self; for if the Earth is of it self, how has it need of the Air, to fix and contain it? But neither the Earth nor Water can any more be [said to be] of it self; but the Air, drawing together, and thickning the Matter, has made the Earth, and again, dissolving and mollifying it, has produc'd the Water. Neither of these then is an Element, since something else has contributed Being and Generation to them both. Moreover, they say, that Subsistence and Matter are subject to Qualities, and do so in a manner define them; and again, they make the Qualities to be also Bodies. But these things have much Perplexity; for, if Qualities have a peculiar Substance, for which they both are, and are call'd Bodies, they need no other Substance; for they have one of their own. But if they have only under them that,

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which

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which is common, which they call Essence and Matter, 'tis manifest, they do but participate of the Body; for they are not Bodies. But the Subject and Recipient must of necessity differ from those things, which it receives, and to which it is subject. But these Men see by halves, for they say indeed, that Matter is void of Quality; but they will not call Qualities immaterial. Now how can they make a Body without Quality, who understand not Quality without a Body? For the reason which joyns to all Quality a Body, suffers not the Understanding to comprehend any Body without some Quality. Either therefore he, who oppugns incorporeal Quality, seems also to oppugn unqualify'd Matter; or separating the one from the other, he mutually parts them both. As for the Reason, which some pretend, that Matter is call'd unqualify'd, not because it is void of all Quality, but because it has all Qualities, is most of all against Sense: For no Man calls that unqualify'd, which is incapable of no Quality; nor that impassible, which is by Nature always apt to suffer all things; nor that immoveable, which is mov'd every way. And this Doubt is not solv'd, that, howsoever Matter is always understood with Quality, yet 'tis understood to be another thing, and differing from Quality.

Plutarch's

Plutarch's Morals :

Vol. IV.

The Contradictions of the Stoics.

*Translated out of the Greek, by E. Smith,
M. A.*

I First lay down this for an Axiom, that there [ought to] be seen in Mens Lives an Agreement with their Doctrins. For 'tis not so necessary, that the Pleader (as *Æschines* has it) and the Law speak one and the same thing, as that the Life of a Philosopher be consonant to his Speech. For the Speech of a Philosopher is a Law of his own, and voluntarily impos'd on himself, unless they esteem Philosophy to be a Game, or an acuteness in Disputing [invented] for the gaining of Applause; and not, what it really is, a thing deserving [our] greatest Study [and Industry.] Since then there are in their Discourses many things written by *Zeno* himself, many by *Cleanthes*, and most of all by *Chrysippus*, concerning Policy, Governing, and being Governed, concerning Judging and Pleading; and yet there is not to be found in any of their Lives, either leading of Armies, making of Laws, going to Parliament, pleading before the Judges, fighting for their Country, travelling on Embassies, or bestowing of Largesses on the People; but they have all, feeding [if I

may so say] on Rest, as on the *Lotus*, led their whole Lives, and those not short, but very long ones, in foreign Countries; amongst Disputations, Books and Walkings: 'Tis manifest, that they have liv'd, rather according to the Writings and Sayings of others, than their own Professions, having spent all their Days in that Repose, which *Epicurus* and *Hieronymus* [so much] commend.

Chrysippus indeed himself, in his fourth Book of *Lives*, thinks, there is [little or] no difference between a Scholastic Life and a voluptuous One. I will set down here his very Words. *They* [says he] *who are of Opinion, That a Scholastic Life is from the very Beginning, most suitable to Philosophers, seem to me to be in an Error, thinking that they ought to do this for the sake of some Recreation or some other thing like to it, and in that manner to spin out the whole [Course of their] Life; that is, if it may be explain'd, to live at ease. For this Opinion of theirs is not to be conceal'd, many of them delivering it clearly, and not a few more obscurely.* Who therefore did more grow old in this scholastic [or idle] Life, than *Chrysippus*, *Cleanthes*, *Diogenes*, *Zeno* and *Antipater*? who left their Countreys, not out of any Discontent, but that they might quietly enjoy their Delight, studying and disputing at their leisure. [To verifie which] *Aristocreon*, the Disciple and intimate Friend of *Chrysippus*, having erected his Statue of Brasse upon a Pillar engrav'd on it these Verses.

*This Brasen Statue Aristocreon
To's Friend Chrysippus newly here has put,
Whose sharp-edg'd Wit, like Sword of Champion,
Did Academic Knots in sunder cut.*

Such an one then was *Chrysippus*, an old Man, a Philosopher, one, who prais'd the Regal and Civil Life, and thought, there is no difference between a scholastic and a voluptuous one.

But

But those others of them, who intermeddle in State Affairs, act yet more contradictorily to their own Doctrins; for they govern, judge, consult, make Laws, punish, and honour, as if Those were indeed Cities, in the Government of which they concern themselves; Those truly Counsellors and Judges, who are at any time allotted to such Offices; Those Generals, who are chosen by Suffrages; and Those Laws, which were made by *Cliftbenes*, *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, whom they affirm to have been vicious Men and Fools.

Indeed *Antipater*, in his Writings concerning the Difference between *Cleanthes* and *Chrysippus* has related, that *Zeno* and *Cleanthes* would not be made Citizens of *Athens*, least they might seem to injure their own Countrys. I shall not much insist upon it, that, if they did well, *Chrysippus* acted amiss, in suffering himself to be enroll'd, as a Member of that City. But this is very contradictory and absurd, that removing their Persons and their Lives so far off amongst Strangers, they reserv'd their Names for their Countreys; [which is the same thing] as if a Man, leaving his Wife, and cohabiting and bedding with another, and getting Children on her, should yet refuse to contract Marriage with the second, lest he might seem to wrong the former. Again, *Chrysippus*, writing in his Treatise Of Rhetoric, that a wise Man will so plead, and act in the Management of a Common-wealth, as if Riches, Glory and Health were [really] good, confesses that his Speeches are inextricable and impolitic, and his Doctrins unsuitable for the Uses and Actions [of human Life.]

'Tis moreover a Doctrin of *Zeno's*, that Temples are not to be built to the Gods; for that a Temple is neither a thing of much value, nor holy; since no Work of Carpenters, and Handicrafts Men can be of much value. And yet they, who praise these things, as well [and wisely] said, are initiated in the sacred Mysteries, go up to the

Castle, [where *Minerva's* Temple stands,] adore the Shrines, and adorn with Garlands the Sacraries, being the Works of Carpenters, and mechanical Persons. Again, they think, that the *Epicureans*, who sacrifice to the Gods [and yet deny them to meddle with the Government of the World] do thereby refute themselves; whereas they themselves are more contrary to themselves, sacrificing on Altars and in Temples, which they affirm ought not to stand, nor to have been built.

Moreover, *Zeno* admits, as *Plato* does, several Virtues according to their differences, to wit, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance and Justice, as being indeed inseparable; but yet divers and different from one another. But again, defining every one of them, he says, that Fortitude is Prudence in executing, Justice Prudence in distributing, as being one and the same Virtue, but seeming to differ in its relations to Affairs, according [as they come] to Action. Nor does *Zeno* alone seem to contradict himself in these Matters; but *Chrysippus* also, who blames *Ariston* for saying, that the other [Virtues] are [different] Habits of one and the same Virtue, and yet defends *Zeno*, who in this manner defines every one of the Virtues. And *Cleanthes*, having in his Commentaries concerning Nature, said, that the Vigor [of things] is the striking of Fire, which, if it is sufficient in the Soul to perform the [Duties] presented to it, is call'd Force and Strength, subjoyns these very Words: *Now this Force and Strength, when it is in things apparent, and to be persisted in, is Continence; when in things to be endur'd, 'tis Fortitude; when about Worthiness, 'tis Justice; and when about Choosing or Refusing, 'tis Temperance.*

Against him, who said,

Give not thy Judgment, till both Sides are heard,

Zeno

Zeno on the contrary made use of such an Argument as this. If he, who spake first, has plainly prov'd [his Cause] the second is not to be heard, for the Question is at an end; and if he has not prov'd it, 'tis the same Case, as if being cited, he did not appear, or appearing, did [nothing but] wrangle; so that, whether he has prov'd or not prov'd his Cause, the second is not to be heard. And yet he, who made this Dilemma, has written against *Plato's* Common-weal, dissolv'd Sophisms, and exhorted his Scholars to learn Logic, as enabling them to do the same. Now *Plato* has either prov'd, or not prov'd those things [which he writ] in his Common-weal; but in neither Case it was necessary to write against him, but wholly superfluous and vain. The same may be said concerning Sophisms.

Chrysippus is of Opinion, that young [Students] should first learn Logic, secondly, Ethics, and, after these, Physics, and likewise in this, to meddle least of all with the Disputes concerning the Gods. Now these things having been often said by him, 'twill suffice to set down, what is [to that purpose] found in his fourth Book Of *Lives*, being thus word for word. *First then*, says he, *it seems to me, according as it has been rightly said by the Ancients, that there are three Kinds of Philosophical Speculations; Logical, Ethical and Physical, and that of these, the Logical ought to be plac'd first, the Ethical second, and the Physical third, and that of the Physical, the Discourse concerning the Gods ought to be the last; wherefore also the Traditions concerning this have been stil'd Τελευταίαι, [or the Endings.]* But that very Discourse concerning the Gods, which he says ought to be plac'd the last, he usually places first, and sets before every moral Question; for he is seen not to say any thing, either concerning the Ends, or concerning Justice, or concerning Good and Evil, or concerning Marriage and the Education of Children, or concerning the Law and the Common-

wealth, but, as those, who propose Decrees to States, set before them some Wish of good Fortune; so he also premises something of *Jupiter*, Fate, Providence, the Worlds being one, and finite, and maintain'd by one Power. None of which any one can be perswaded to believe, who has not penetrated deeply into the Discourses of Natural Philosophy. Hear what he says of this in his third Book of the Gods. *For there is not [says he] to be found any other Beginning, or any other Generation of Justice, but what is from Jupiter, and common Nature. From thence must every such thing have its Beginning, if we will say any thing concerning Good and Evil.* And again, in his Natural Positions [he says:] *For one cannot otherwise, or more properly come to the Discourse of Good and Evil to the Vertues, or to Felicity, than from common Nature, and the Administration of the World.* And going farther on, [he adds] *For to these we must annex the Discourse concerning Good and Evil, there being no other better Beginning or Relation thereof, and the Speculation of Nature being learnt for nothing else, but [to understand] the Difference between Good and Evil.* According to *Chrysippus*, therefore the Natural Science is both before and after the Moral; or rather, 'tis an Inversion of Order altogether absurd, if this must be put after those things, none of which can be comprehended without this; and his contradicting himself is manifest, when he asserts the Discourse of Nature to be the Beginning of that concerning Good and Evil, and yet commands it to be deliver'd, not before, but after it.

Now if any one shall say, that *Chrysippus*, in his Book concerning the Use of Speech, has written, that he, who applies himself to Logic first, needs not absolutely to abstain from the rest, but should take as much of them, as shall fall in his way, he will indeed say the truth, but will withal confirm the Fault. For he opposes himself, one while commanding, that the Science

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concerning God should be taken last, and for a Conclusion, as being therefore also call'd *Τελευτή*; and again, another while saying, that this is to be learnt together with the very first. For Order is at an end, if all things must be us'd at all times. But this is more, that having made the Science concerning the Gods the Beginning of that concerning Good and Evil, he bids not those, who apply themselves to the Ethics, to begin with that; but learning these, to take of that also, as it shall come in their way, and then to go from these to that, without which, he says there is no Beginning or Entrance upon these.

As for disputing on both sides, he says, that he does not universally reject it, but exhorts us to use it with caution, as is done in Pleadings, not with Approbation, but to dissolve their Probability. For to those, says he, *who endeavour a Suspension of Assent concerning all things, 'tis convenient to do this, and it co-operates to what they desire; but as for those, who would work in us Science, according to which we shall professedly live, they ought to sound the contrary, and to direct those, who are entred from the Beginning to the End; and where there is occasion to make mention of contrary Discourses, to dissolve their Probability, as is done in Pleadings.* For this he has said in express Words. Now that it is absurd, for Philosophers to think, that they ought to set down the contrary Opinion, not with all its Reasons, but like Pleaders, disabling it, as if they contended not for Truth, but Victory; we have elsewhere spoken against him. But that he himself has, not [only] in his Disputations, but frequently confirm'd the Discourses, which are contrary to his own Opinions, [and that] stoutly, and with so much earnestness and Contention, that 'twas not for every one to understand what he lik'd, they themselves affirm, who admire the Mans acuteness; and think, that *Carneades* said nothing of his own, but catching hold of those Arguments,

guments, which *Chrysippus* alledg'd for the Contrary Opinion, assaulted with them his Positions, and often cry'd out;

Wretch, thy own Strength will thee undo—

As if he had given great Advantages against himself to those, who would disturb and calumniate his Doctrins,

But of those things, he has set out against Custom, they are so proud, and do so glory [in them,] that they fear not to affirm, that all the Sayings of all the *Academics* together, if they were collected into one Body, are not comparable to what *Chrysippus* has writ in disparagement of the Senses. Which is an evident sign of the Ignorance or Self-love of the Speakers; but this indeed is true, that being afterwards desirous to defend Custom and the Senses, he was inferior to himself, and the latter Treatise was much weaker then the former. So that he contradicts himself; for having always directed the proposing of an Adversaries Opinions not with Approbation, but with a Demonstration of their Falsity he has shew'd himself more acute in opposing, then defending his own Doctrins; and having admonish'd others to take heed of contrary Arguments, as withdrawing Comprehension, he has been more sedulous in framing such Proofs, as take away Comprehension, than such, as confirm it. And yet he plainly shews, that he himself fear'd this, writing thus in his fourth Book of *Lives*. *Repugnant Arguments, & Probabilities on the contrary side, are not [rashly] to be propos'd, but with caution, lest [the Hearers,] distracted by them, should let go their Conception, not being able sufficiently to apprehend their Solutions, but so weakly, that their Comprehensions may easily be shaken. For even those, who have, according to custom pre conceiv'd both sensible and other things, quickly forego them, being distract-ed by Megarian Interrogatories, and others more numerous*
and

and forcible. I would willingly therefore ask the *Stoics*, whether they think these *Megarian* Interrogatories to be more forcible than those, which *Chrysippus* has written in six Books against Custom, or [rather] this should be askt of *Chrysippus* himself. For observe, what he has written about the *Megarian* Reason, in his Book, *Concerning the Use of Speech* [where he says] thus: *Some such things sell out in the Discourse of Stilpon and Menedemus; for, whereas they were renown'd for Wisdom, their Disputing has turn'd to their Reproach [their Arguments] being part clumisie, and the rest evidently sophistical.* And yet, good Sir, you fear, lest those Arguments, which you deride, and term the Disgrace of their Proposers, as having a manifest Faultiness, should divert some from Comprehension. And did not you your self, writting so many Books against Custom, in which you have added, whatever you could invent, ambitiously striving to exceed *Arcefilaus*, expect, that you should perplex some of your Readers? For neither does he use slender Arguments against Custom, but, as if he were Pleading, he with some Passion [in himself] stirs up the Affections [of others,] telling [his Opponent,] that he talks foolishly, and labours in vain. And that he may leave no room to deny his speaking of Contradictions, he has in his *Natural Positions* written thus. *It may be lawful for those, who comprehend a thing, to argue on the contrary side; applying it to the Defence, which is in the thing it self; and sometimes, when they comprehend neither, to discourse, what is [alleg'd] for either.* And having said in his Book *Concerning the Use of Speech*, that we ought no more to use the Force of Reason, than of Arms, for such things as are not fitting, he subjoyns this; *for they are to be employ'd for the finding out of Truths, and for the Alliance of them, and not for the contrary, though many Men do it.* By the *Many*, perhaps he means those, who withhold [their Assent.] But they indeed, comprehending neither, argue
on

on both sides, as may be perceiv'd: for thus only, or chiefly, does Truth afford a Comprehension of it self. But you, who accuse them, and do your self write contrary to those things, which you comprehend concerning Custom, and exhort others with Approbation to do the same in unprofitable and hurtful things, confess, that using the Faculty of Disputing, you, through Ambition act like a young Scholar.

They say, that a good Deed is the Command, and Sin the Prohibition of the Law; and therefore that the Law forbids the Wicked many things, but commands them nothing, because they cannot do a good Deed. But who is ignorant, that he, who cannot do a good Deed, cannot also sin? Therefore they make the Law to contradict it self, commanding Men those things, which they cannot perform, and forbidding them those things, from which they cannot abstain. For a Man, who cannot be temperate, cannot but act intemperately; and he, who cannot be wise, cannot but act foolishly. And they themselves affirm, that those who forbid, say indeed one thing, forbid another, and command another. For he, who says, *Thou shalt not steal*, [at the same time, that] he says this Word, *Thou shalt not steal*, forbids also to steal. The Law therefore forbids the Wicked nothing, unless it also commands them something. And they say, that the Physician [or Chyrurgion] bids his Disciple [or Apprentice] to cut and cauterize, without adding these Words, *Seasonably* and *Moderately*; and the Musician commands his Scholar to play on the Harp, and Sing, without adding *Tuneably*, and *keeping Time*. Wherefore also they punish those, who do these things unskillfully and faultily; for that they were commanded to do them well, and they have done them ill. If therefore a wise Man commands his Servant to say, or do something, and punishes him for doing it unseasonably, or not as he ought, is it not mani-

fest, that he commanded him to do a good Action, and not an indifferent one? But if wise Men command wicked ones indifferent things, what hinders, but the Commands of the Law may be also such? Moreover, the Instinct, call'd *ὀρεσις*, is, according to him, the Reason of a Man, commanding him to do something, as he has written in his Book *Of the Law*. Is not therefore also the Aversion, call'd *ἀπορεσις*, a prohibiting Reason, and an Inclination, and that Inclination agreeable to Reason? Caution therefore is also Reason, prohibiting a wise Man: For to be cautious, is proper only to the Wise, and not to the Wicked. If then the Reason of a wise Man is one thing, and the Reason of the Law another, wise Men have caution contrary to the Law; but if the Law is nothing else, but the Reason of a wise Man, the Law is found to forbid wise Men the doing of those things, of which they are cautious.

Chrysippus says, that nothing is profitable to the Wicked, that the Wicked have neither use nor need of any thing. Having said this in his first Book *of Good Deeds*, he says again, that both Commodiousness and Grace pertain to mean [or indifferent] things, none of which, according to them, is profitable. In the same place he affirms, that there is nothing proper, nothing convenient for a vitious Man; and consequently, that there is nothing strange [or unfitting] for a good Man, nothing familiar or fitting for a bad one; since, as Goodness is the ones, so Badness is the others. Why then does he break our Heads, writing particularly in every one of his Books, as well Natural as Moral, that as soon as we are born, we are appropriated to our selves, our Parts, and Off-spring? And why in his first Book *Of Justice* does he say, that the very Brutes, proportionable to the Necessity of their Young, are appropriated [or affected] to them, except Fishes; for their Young are nourished by

by themselves? For neither have they Sense, who have nothing sensible, nor they Appropriation, who have nothing proper; for Appropriation seems to be the Sense and Perception of what is proper. And this Opinion is consequent to their principal ones.

'Tis moreover manifest, that *Chrysippus*, though he has also written many things to the contrary, lays this for a Position, that there is not any Vice greater, or any Sin more grievous than another; nor any Vertue more excellent, or any good Deed better than another: So that he says in his first Book *Of Nature*; *As it well be- seems Jupiter to Glory in himself and his Life, to magnifie himself, and (if we may so say) to bear up his Head, have an high Conceit of himself, and speak big, for that he leads a Life worthy of lofty Speech; so the same things do not mis be seem all good Men, who are in nothing exceeded by Jupiter.* And yet himself, in his third Book *Of Justice*, says, that they, who make Pleasure the End, destroy Justice; but they, who say, 'tis only a Good, do not destroy it. These are his very Words: *For perhaps, if we leave this to Pleasure, that 'tis a Good, but not the End, and that Honesty is [one] of those things, which are eligible for themselves; we may preserve Justice, making Honest and Just a greater Good than Pleasure.* But if that is only good, which is honest, he who affirms Pleasure to be a good, is in an Error, but he errs less than he who makes it also the End; for the one destroys Justice, the other preserves it; and by the one [human] Society is overthrown, but the other leaves a place to Goodness and Humanity. Now I let pass his saying farther in his Book *Concerning Jupiter*, that the Vertues increase and go on, lest I may seem to catch at Words; though *Chrysippus* indeed is in this kind very sharp upon *Plato* and others. But when he forbids the praising of every thing, that is done according to Vertue, he shews that there is some difference between good Deeds. Now he says thus in his Book *Concerning Jupiter*: *For of Works that*

that are according to Vertue, the principal only are to be prais'd; for he would show himself to be very frigid, that should undertake to praise and extol any Men for holding out the Finger stoutly, for abstaining continently from an old Woman, ready to drop into the Grave, and patiently bearing [is said,] that three are not exactly four. What he says in his third Book of the Gods, is not unlike to this: For I moreover think, says he, that the Praises of such things, though proceeding from Vertue, as are to abstain from an old Woman, who has one Foot in the Grave, and to endure the Stinging of a Wasp, would be very impertinent. What either Reprehender of his Doctrines does this Man then expect? For if he, who praises such things, is frigid, he who asserts every one of them to be a great, nay, a very great good Deed, is much more frigid. For if to bear the Stinging of a Wasp is equal to the being Valiant; and to abstain from an old Woman, who is near her End, to the being Temperate; there is, I think, no difference whether a virtuous Man is prais'd for these, or for those. Moreover, in his second Book of Friendship, teaching, that Friendships are not for every Fault to be dissolv'd, he has these very Expressions: For 'tis meet that some [Faults] should be wholly pass'd by, others lightly reprehended, others more severely, and others deem'd worthy a total Dissolution [Of Friendship.] And which is more, he says in the same Book, that we will converse with some more, and some less, so that some are more, and some less Friends: This Diversity extending very far; for some are worthy of such an Amity, others of a greater; and these will deserve to be so far trusted, those not so far, and the like. For what else has he done in these Places, but shewn the great Diversity, there are between these things? Moreover, in his Book Concerning Honesty, to demonstrate that only to be good, which is honest, he uses these Words: What is good, is eligible; what is eligible, is acceptable; what

what is acceptable, is laudable; and what is laudable, is honest. And again, *What is good, is joyous; what is joyous, is venerable; what is venerable, is honest.* But these Speeches are repugnant to himself; for either all Good is commendable, and then the abstaining chastly from an old Woman is also commendable; or all Good is neither venerable nor joyous, but this Reason is at an End. Or may it perhaps be frigid in others, to praise any for such things, and not ridiculous for him to rejoyce and glory in them?

Such indeed he frequently is; but in his Disputations against others, he takes not the least care of speaking things contrary and dissonant to himself. For in his Books *Of Exhorting*, reprehending *Plato*, who said, that to him, who has neither learnt, nor knows how to live, 'tis profitable not to live; he speaks in this manner: *For this Speech is both repugnant to it self and not at all exhortatory: for first insinuating, that 'tis best for us not to live, and in a sort counselling us to dye, he will excite us rather to any thing else, than to be Philosophers; for neither can he, who does not live, philosophize, nor he, who shall live long wickedly and ignorantly, become wise.* And going on, he says, that 'tis convenient for the Wicked also to continue in Life. And afterwards thus word for word: *First [as] Vertue, barely [taken,] has nothing towards our Living; so neither has Vice any thing to oblige us to depart.* Nor is it necessary to turn over other Books, that we may shew *Chrysippus's* Contradictoriness to himself; but in these same, he sometimes with Commendation brings forth this Saying of *Antisthenes*, that either *Understanding, or an Halter, is to be provided*; as also that of *Tyrtæus*,

Come nigh the Bounds of Vertue, or of Death.

Now what else will this shew, but that to wicked Men and Fools, not to live is more profitable than to live?
And

And sometimes correcting *Theognis*, he says, that the Poet should not have written,

From Poverty to fly —————.

But rather thus ;

*From Wickedness to fly, into the Deep
Throw thy self, Cyrius, or from Rock: so sleep.*

What therefore else does he seem to do, but to set down himself those things and Doctrins, which, when others write them, he expunges; condemning indeed *Plato*, for shewing, that not to live, is better than to live vitiously and ignorantly; and yet with *Theognis* counselling a Man to break his Neck, or throw himself into the Sea, that he may avoid Vice? For having prais'd *Antisthenes* for directing Fools to an Halter, he again blames him, saying, that Vice has nothing that should oblige us to depart out of Life.

Moreover, in his Books against the same *Plato*, *Concerning Justice*, he immediately, at the very beginning, leaps into a Discourse touching the Gods, and says, that *Cephalus* did not rightly avert Men from Injustice by the Fear of the Gods, and that he may easily be refuted, and that he affords to the contrary many Arguments and Probabilities, impugning the Discourse concerning Divine Punishments, as nothing differing from the Tales of *Acco* and *Alphito* [or *Ram Head* and *Bloody-Bones*,] with which Women are wont to frighten little Children from their unlucky Pranks. Having thus traduc'd *Plato*, he in other places again praises him, and often alledges this Saying of *Euripides*.

*Howe'er you may deride it, there's a Love,
With other Gods, who see Mens Fates, above.*

And likewise in his first Book of *Justice* citing these Verses of *Hesiod*,

*Then Jove from Heaven Punishments did send,
And Plague and Famine brought them to their End.*

He says, the Gods do these things, that, the Wicked being punish'd, others, admonish'd by these Examples, may less dare to attempt the doing of such things.

Again, in his Book of *Justice*, subjoyning, that 'tis possible for those who make Pleasure a Good, but not the End, to preserve also Justice, he said in express Terms: *For perhaps if we leave this to Pleasure, that 'tis a Good, but not the End, and that Honesty is one of those things, which are eligible for themselves, we may preserve Justice, making Honest and Just a greater Good than Pleasure.* So much [he says] in this Place concerning Pleasure. But in his Book against *Plato*, accusing him for seeming to make Health a Good, he says, that not only *Justice*, but also *Magnanimity, Temperance, and all the other Vertues* will be taken away, if we make *Pleasure, Health, or any thing else, which is not Honest, to be a Good.* What therefore is to be said for *Plato*, we have elsewhere written against him. But here his contradicting himself is manifest, when he says in one place, that if a Man supposes, with *Honesty, Pleasure* also to be a Good, *Justice* is preserv'd; and in another, accuses those who make any thing besides *Honesty*, to be a Good, of taking away all the *Vertues*. But that he may not leave [any Means of making] an Apology for his Contradictions, writing against *Aristotle Concerning Justice*, he affirms him not to have spoken rightly, when he said, that *Pleasure* being [made] the End, *Justice* is taken away, and together with *Justice*, every one also of the other *Vertues*. For that *Justice* will indeed be taken away; but that there is nothing to hinder the other *Vertues* from remaining and being, though not eligible for themselves, yet Good and *Vertues*. Then he reckons up every one of them by Name. But ['twill be] better to set down

down his own Words. For Pleasure, says he, appearing, according to this Discourse [to be made] the End, yet all this seems not to me to be contain'd in it. Wherefore we must say, that neither any of the Vertues is eligible, nor any of the Vices to be avoided for it self; but that all these things are to be referr'd to the proposed Scope. Yet nothing, according to their Opinion, will hinder, but that Fortitude, Prudence, Continnence and Patience, may be good, and their Contraries to be avoided. Has there ever then been any Man more peevish in his Disputes than he, who has blam'd two of the principal Philosophers; the one for taking away all Vertue, by not making that only to be good, which is honest; and the other, for not thinking all the Vertues, except Justice, to be preserv'd, though Pleasure is [made] the End. For 'tis a wonderful Licentiousness, that discoursing of the same Matters, he should [when] accusing Plato, take away again those very things, which himself sets down, [when] reprehending Aristotle. Moreover, in his *Demonstrations concerning Justice*, he says expressly, that every good Deed is both a lawful Action, and a just Operation; but every thing which is done according to Continnence, Patience, Prudence or Fortitude is a good Deed, and therefore also a just Operation. Why then does he not also leave Justice to them, to whom he leaves Prudence, Fortitude and Continnence; since whatever they do well according to the said Vertue, they do also justly?

Moreover, Plato having said, that Injustice, as being the Corruption and Sedition of the Soul, loses not its Power even in those, who have it within them; but sets the wicked Man against himself, and molests, and disturbs him; Chrysippus, blaming this, affirms, that 'tis absurdly said, a Man injures himself; for that Injustice is to another, and not to ones self. But forgetting this, he again says in his *Demonstrations concerning Justice*, that the unjust Man is injur'd by himself, and injures him-

self, when he injures another, becoming to himself the Cause of Transgressing, and undeservedly hurting himself. In his Books indeed against *Plato* contending, that Injustice is not said against ones self, but against another, he has these Words. *For those who are particularly unjust, consist of many such, speaking contrary things? Injustice also being besides so taken, as to be in many, so affected to one another; and no such thing extending to one alone, but inasmuch as he is affected towards his Neighbour.* But in his *Demonstrations* he has such Discourses, as these, concerning the unjust Mans being injurious also to himself: *The Law forbids the being any way the Author [or Cause] of Transgression; and to act unjustly will be Transgression: He therefore, who is to himself the Author [or Cause] of acting unjustly, transgresses against himself. Now he that transgresses against any one, also injures him; therefore he, who is injurious to any one whomsoever, is injurious also to himself. Again, Sin is an Hurt, and every one, who sins, sins against himself; every one therefore, who sins, hurts himself undeservedly, and if so, is also unjust to himself. And farther thus: He, who is hurt by another, hurts himself, and that undeservedly. Now that is to be unjust. Every one therefore, that is injur'd, by whomsoever it is, is unjust also to himself. He says, that the Doctrin concerning Good and Evil, which himself introduces and approves, is most agreeable to Life, and does most of all reach the inbred Prænotions; for this he has affirm'd in his third Book Of *Exhortations*. But in his first Book, he says, that this Doctrin takes a Man off from all other things, as being nothing to us, nor co-operating any thing towards Felicity. See now, how consonant he is to himself, when he asserts [a Doctrin,] which takes us off from Life, Health, Indolence, and Integrity of the Senses, and says, that those things, we beg of the Gods, are nothing to us, to be most agreeable to Life, and to the common Anticipations. But that there may be no Denial*

Denial of his speaking Contradictions, in his third Book *Of Justice* he has said thus ; *Wherefore also for the Excellency of their Greatness and Beauty, we seem to speak things, like to Fictions, and not according to Man or Human Nature.* Is it then possible that any one can more plainly confess his speaking things contrary to himself, than this Man does, who affirms those things, which he says for their Excellency seem to be Fictions, and to be spoken above Man and Human Nature, to be agreeable to Life, and most of all to reach the inbred Passions?

In every one of his Natural and Ethical Books, he asserts Vice to be the very Essence of Unhappiness; writing and contending, that to live vitiously is the same thing as to live unhappily. But in his third Book *Of Nature*, having said that 'tis profitable for a Fool to live, rather than to dye, though he is never to become Wise, he subjoins, *for such are good things to Men, that evil things do in some sort preceded indifferent ones.* It pass therefore, that having elsewhere said, Nothing is profitable to Fools, he here says, that to live foolishly is profitable to them. Now those things being by them call'd indifferent, which are neither bad nor good, when he says, that bad things precede them, he says nothing else, but that evil things precede those, that are not evil, and that to be Unhappy is more profitable than not to be unhappy ; and if so, he esteems not to be unhappy to be more unprofitable ; and if more unprofitable, more hurtful then to be unhappy. Desiring therefore to mitigate this Absurdity, he adds concerning Evils ; *But 'tis not these Evils that precede, but Reason, with which 'tis more convenient to live, though we shall be Fools.* First therefore he says that Vice, and things participating of Vice, are Evil ; and that nothing else [is so.] Now Vice is something reasonable, or rather deprav'd Reason. For those therefore, who are Fools, to live with Reason, is nothing else but to live with Vice: thence to live being

Fools, is to live being unhappy. In what then does this precede indifferent things? For he meant not, that to be happy, does by Nature precede to be unhappy. But neither, say they, does *Chrysippus* altogether think, that the remaining in Life is to be reckon'd amongst good things, or the going out of it amongst bad; but both of them amongst indifferent ones according to Nature. Wherefore also it sometimes becomes meet for the Happy to make themselves away, and again for the Unhappy to continue in Life. Now what greater Repugnance can there be than this in the Choice and avoiding of Things, if 'tis convenient for those, who are in the highest degree happy, to forsake those good things, that are present, for the want of some one indifferent thing? And yet they esteem none of the indifferent things either desirable, or to be avoided; but only Good desirable, and Evil only to be avoided. So that it comes to pass according to them, that the Reasoning about Actions are plac'd neither upon things desirable, nor upon things refusable; but that aiming at other things, which they neither shun nor choose, they live and dye according to them.

Chrysippus confesses, that good things are totally different from bad, and it must of necessity be so, if these make them, with whom they are present, miserable to the very utmost Point, and those [render their Possessors] in the highest degree happy. Now he says, that good and evil things are sensible, writing thus in his first Book *Of the End: That good and evil things are perceptible by Sense, we are by these [Reasons] forc'd to say; for not only the Passions with their Species, as Sorrow, Fear, and such others, are sensible; but we may also have a Sense of Theft, Adultery, and the like, and generally of Folly, Cowardise and other Vices not a few: And again, not only of Joy, Beneficence, and many other Dependences on good Deeds, but also of Prudence, Fortitude, and the other Vertues.* Let us pass by the other

other Absurdities of these things; but that they are repugnant to those [things, which are deliver'd by him] concerning a wise Man, that knows nothing of his being so, who does not confess? For Good, when present, being sensible, and having a great difference from Evil, is it not most absurd, that he, who is of Bad become Good, should be ignorant of it, and not perceive Vertue when present, but think, that Vice is still within him? For either none, who has all Vertues, can be ignorant, and doubt [of his having them;] or the Difference of Vertue from Vice, of Happiness from Misery, and of a most honest Life from a most shameful one, is little, and altogether difficult to be discern'd, if he, who possesses the one for the other, does not perceive it.

[He has written] one Volume of *Lives*, [divided into] four Books; in the fourth of these, he says, that a wise Man meddles with no Business but his own, and is imploy'd about his own Affairs. His Words are these: *For I am of Opinion, that a prudent Man shuns Affairs, meddles little, and at the same time minds his own Occasions, civil Persons being both Minders of their own Affairs, and Medlers with little [else.]* He has said almost the same in his Book *Of things eligible for themselves*, in these very Words: *For indeed a quiet Life seems to have [in it] a certain Freedom from Danger and Security, though there are not very many, who can comprehend it.* 'Tis manifest, that he does not much dissent from *Epicurus*, who takes away Providence, that he may leave God in Repose. But the same *Chrysippus* in his first Book *Of Lives* says, That a wise Man willingly takes upon him a Kingdom, making his Profit by it, and if he cannot reign himself, will dwell with a King, and go with him to the Wars, [though he be] such an one as was *Hydantyrus* the *Scythian*, or *Leucon* the *Pontic*. [But] I will [here] also set down his very Discourse, that we may see, whether, as from the Treble and the Bass Strings there arises a

Symphony in Music, so the Life of a Man, who chooseth Quietness, and Medling with little, accords with him, who upon any necessity rides along with the *Scythians* and manages the Affairs of the Tyrants in the *Bosphorus*; For, says he, that [a wise Man] will both go to the Wars, and live with Potentates, we will again consider this hereafter; some indeed upon the like Arguments, not so much as suspecting these things, and we for semblable Reasons admitting them. And a little after; Not only with those, who have proceeded well, and are become [Proficients] in discipline and [good] Manners, as with *Leucon* and *Hidanthyrus*.

Somewhere are, who blame *Callisthenes* for sailing to *Alexander*, in hopes to obtain the Re-building of *Olynthus*, as *Aristotle* [had procur'd that] of *Stagira*; and commend *Ephorus*, *Xenocratus* and *Menedemus*, who rejected *Alexander*. But *Chrysippus* thrusts [his] wise Man Head forwards for the sake of Gain, as far as *Panticapeum*, and the Desert of the *Scythians*. And that he does this for the sake of Profit and Gain, he has shew'd before, supposing three ways of gaining most suitable for a wise Man; the first by a Kingdom, the second by his Friends, and the third, besides these, by [teaching of] Literature. And yet he frequently, even tires us with his Praises of this Saying:

What need have Men of more, then these two things?

But in his Books *Of Nature*, he says, that a wise Man, if he has lost the greatest Wealth [imaginable, values it so little, that he] seems to have lost [but] a single Groat. But having there thus elevated and put him up, he again here throws him down to Mercinarieness, and [teaching of] Sophistry; nay, even to asking and receiving beforehand, sometimes at the very entrance of his Scholar, and otherwhiles after some time past: which

which he says indeed to be the more civil, but to receive before hand the more sure, Delay being subject to sustain Injuries; Now he says thus; *All, who are well advis'd, do not require their Salary in the same manner, but differently; a Multitude of them, as Opportunity offers, not promising to make [their Scholars] good Men, and that within a Year; but to do this, as far as in them lies, within a time agreed on* And again going on [he says;] *But he will know his Opportunity, whether he ought to receive his Recompence presently at the very Entrance (as many have done) or to give them Time, this Manner being more liable to Injuries, but withal, seeming the more courteous.* And how is the wise Man a Contemner of Wealth, who upon a Contract delivers Vertue for Money, and if he has not deliver'd it, yet requires his Reward, as having done what is in him? Or how is he above being endamag'd, when he is so cautious, lest he be wrong'd of his Recompence? For no Man is wrong'd, who is not endamag'd. Therefore, though he has elsewhere asserted, that a wise Man cannot be injur'd, he here says, that this manner [of Dealing] is liable to Injury.

In his Book Of a *Common-meal*, he says, that his Citizens will neither act, nor prepare any thing for the sake of Pleasure, and praises *Euripides* for having utter'd this Sentence;

*What need have Men of more, than these two things,
The Fruit of Ceres, and Thirst-quickning Springs?*

And yet a little after this, going on, he commends *Diogenes*, who forc'd his Nature to pass from himself in public, and said to those, that were present. *I wish I could in the same manner drive Hunger also out of my Belly.* What Reason then is there to praise in the same Books, him, who rejects all pleasure, and withal him, who for the Sake of Pleasure does such things, and proceeds
to

to such a Degree of Filthiness? Moreover, having in his Books *Of Nature* written, that Nature has produc'd many Creatures for the Sake of Beauty, delighting in Pulchritude, and pleasing her self with Variety, and having added a most absurd Expression, that the Peacock was made for the sake of his Tail, and for the Beauty of it; he has in his Treatise *Of a common-meal* sharply reprehended those, who bred Peacocks and Nightingales, as if he were making Laws contrary to the Law-giver of the World, and deriding Nature for pleasing her self in the Beauty [and Production] of such Animals to which a wise Man would not give a Place in his City. For how can it but be absurd to blame those, who nourish these Creatures, if he commends Providence, [which created them?] In his Fifth Book *Of Nature*, having said, that Bugs profitably awaken us out of our Sleep, that Mice make us cautious not to lay up every thing negligently, and that 'tis probable, that Nature, rejoicing in Variety, takes delight in the Production of fair Creatures, he adds these Words; *The Evidence of this is chiefly shewn in the Peacocks Tail; for here she manifests, that this Animal was made for the sake of his Tail, and not the contrary; so, the Mail being made, the Female follow.* In his Book *Of a Common meal*, having said, that we are ready to plant even Dunghills, a little after he adds, that some beautifie their Corn-fields with Vines, climbing up Trees, and Myrtles set in rows, and keep Peacocks, Doves and Partridges, that they may [hear them.] cry and coo, and Nightingales [to hear them sing.] Now I would gladly ask him, what he thinks of Bees and Honey. For 'twas of Consequence, that he, who said, Bugs were created profitably, should also say that Bees were created unprofitably. But if he allows these a Place in his City, why does he drive away his Citizens from things, that are pleasing, and delight the Ear? To be brief, as he would be very absurd,

lurd, who should blame the Guests for eating Sweetmeats, and other Delicacies, and drinking of Wine; and at the same time commend him, who invited them, and prepar'd such things for them; so he, that praises Providence, which has afforded Fishes, Birds, Honey and Wine, and at the same time finds fault with those, who reject not these things, nor content themselves with

The Fruits of Ceres, and thirst quenching Springs,

Which are present and sufficient to nourish us, seems to make no Scruple of speaking things, contradictory to himself.

Moreover, having said in his Book of *Exhortations*, that the having carnal Commerce with our Mothers, Daughters or Sisters, the Eating any sort of Food, and the Going from a [Womans] Bed, or a dead Carcass to the Temple, have been without reason blam'd, he affirms, that we ought for these things to have a Regard to the brute Beasts, and from what is done by them, conclude, that none of these is absurd, or contrary to Nature. For that the Comparisons of other Animals are fitly made for this Purpose, [to shew,] that neither their Coupling, Bringing forth, nor dying in the Temples, pollutes the Divinity. Yet he again in his Fifth Book Of *Nature* says, that *Hesiod* rightly forbids the Pissing into Rivers and Fountains; and that we should rather abstain from making Water against any Altar, or Statue of the Gods; and that 'tis not to be admitted for an Argument, that Dogs, Asses and young Children do it, who have no Discretion or Consideration of such things. 'Tis therefore absurd to say in one place, that the savage Example of irrational Animals is fit [to be consider'd,] and in another, that 'tis unreasonable [to alledge it.]

To

To give a Solution to the Inclinations, when a Man seems to be necessitated by exterior Causes, some Philosophers place in the Principal Faculty of the Soul, a certain adventitious Motion, which is chiefly manifested in dubious things compar'd with one another. For when with two things altogether alike, and of equal Importance, there is a Necessity to choose the one, there being no Cause inclining to either, for that neither of them differs from the other, this adventitious Power of the Soul, seizing on its Inclination, determines the Doubt. *Chrysippus* discoursing against these Men, as offering Violence to Nature by the contrary, in many [Places] alleges the Dy and the Ballance, and several [other] things, which cannot fall, or bend, either one way or other, without some Cause or Difference, either wholly within them, or coming to them from without; For that what is causeless, is wholly insubsistent, as also what is fortuitous; and that in those Motions, divis'd by some, and call'd Adventitious, there occur [certain] obscure Causes, which, being conceal'd from us, move our Inclinations to one side or other. These are some of those things, which are most evidently known to have been frequently said by him; but what he has said contrary to this, not lying so expos'd to every ones Sight, I will set down in his own Words. For in his Book *Of Judging*, having suppos'd two, running [for a Wager,] to have exactly finish'd their Race together, he examines what is fit for the Judge [in this Case] to do. *Whether*, says he, *may the Judge give the Palm to which of them he will, although they both happen to be so familiar to him, that he would in some sort rather bestow on them somewhat of his own [than deprive them of what is theirs;] so that, the Palm being common to both, may be, as if Lots had been cast, give it to either, according to the Inclination, he chances to have? I say the Inclination, he chances to have, such, as when, two Groats, every way else alike, being*
pre-

presented to us, we incline to one of them, and take it. And in his sixth Book *Of Duties*, having said, that there are some things not worthy of much Study or Attention, he thinks we ought, as if we had cast Lots, to commit the Choice of those things to the casual Inclination of the Mind: *As if*, says he, *of those, who try the same two Groats some should say this, and others that to be good, and there being no more Cause for the taking of one than the other, we should leave off making any farther Enquiry into their Value, and take that, which chances [to come first to hand.]* In another place he says, that casting Lots for this, we shall yet [perhaps] take the worst of them. For in these Passages, the Casting of Lots, and the casual Inclining of the Mind, which is without any Cause, introduces the [Choice, or] Taking of indifferent things.

In his third Book *Of Logic*, having said, that *Plato, Aristotle*, and [those, who came] after them, even to *Polemon* and *Straton*, but especially *Socrates*, diligently study'd Logic, and having cry'd out, that one would even choose to err with these, such and so great Men, he brings in these Words; *For if they had spoken of these things cursorily, one might perhaps have cavil'd at this place; but having treated of Logic, as one of the greatest and most necessary Faculties, 'tis not probable, they should have been so much mistaken, having been such in all [the Parts of Philosophy,] as we esteem them.* Why then might some one say to him, do you never cease to oppose and argue against such and so great Men, as if you thought them to err in the Principal and greatest Matters? For ['tis not probable] that they writ seriously of Logic, and [only transitorily, and in sport, of the Beginning, End, Gods and Justice; in which you affirm their Discourse to be blind, and contradictory to it self, and to have a thousand other faults.

In one place he says, that [the Vice, call'd by the
Greeks]

Greeks *Ἐμψυχιστία*, or the rejoycing at other Mens Harms has no Being, since no good Man ever rejoy'd at anothers Evils. But in his second Book *Of Good*, having declar'd Envy to be a Sorrow at other Mens Good, to wit, in such as desire the Depression of their Neighbours, that themselves may excel, he joyns to it this Rejoycing at other Mens Harms, [saying thus:] *To this is contiguous the Rejoycing at other Mens Harms in such, as for like Causes desire to have their Neighbours low; but in those, that are turn'd according to other natural Motions, is ingendred Mercy.* For he manifestly admits the Joy at other Mens Harms to be subsistent, as well as Envy and Mercy, though in other places he affirms it to have no subsistence; as [he does] also the Hatred of Wick- edness, and the Desire of dishonest Gain.

Having in many places said, that those, who have a long time been happy, are nothing more so, but equal- ly, and in like manner with those, who have but a mo- ment been Partakers of Felicity, he has again in many other places affirm'd, that 'tis not fit to stretch out so much as a Finger for [the obtaining] momentary Pru- dence, which flies away like a Flash of Lightning. 'Twill be sufficient to set down, what is to this purpose written by him in his sixth Book *Of Moral Questions*. For having said, that every good thing does neither e- qually cause Joy, nor every good Deed [the like] Glo- rying, he subjoyns these [Words:] *For if a Man should be to have Wisdom only for a Moment of Time, or the least Minute of Life, he ought not so much as to stretch out his Finger for such a short-liv'd Prudence, though Men are nei- ther more happy for being longer so, nor is eternal Felicity more eligible then that, which lasts but a Moment.* If he had indeed held Prudence to be a Good, producing Fe- licity, as *Epicurus* thought, one should have blam'd only the Absurdity and the Paradoxicalness of this Opinion; but since Prudence of it self is not another thing [differ- ing]

ing] from Felicity, but Felicity it self; how is it not a Contradiction to say, that momentary Happiness is equally desirable with eternal, and yet that momentary Happiness is nothing worth?

Chrysippus also says, that the Vertues follow one another, and that not only he, who has one, has all, but also that he, who acts according to any one of them, acts according to them all; and he affirms, that there is not any Man perfect, who is not possess'd of all the Vertues, nor any Action perfect, to the doing of which all the Vertues do not concur. But yet in his sixth Book *Of Moral Questions* he says, that a good Man does not always act valiantly, nor a vitious Man always fearfully; for certain Objects being presented to the Fancies, the one must persist in his Judgments, and the other depart from them; and he says that 'tis not probable, a wicked Man should be always indulging his Lust. If then to act valiantly in the same thing as to use Fortitude, and to act timorously, as to yield to Fear, they [cannot but] speak Contradictions, who say, that he who is possess'd [of either Vertue or Vice] acts at the same time according to all the Vertues, or [all the] Vices, and yet that a valiant Man does not always act valiantly, nor a vitious Man timorously.

He defines Rhetoric to be an Art concerning the Ornament, and the ordering of a Discourse, that is pronounced. And farther in his first Book he has written thus; *And I am of Opinion that there ought not a Regard to be had to a liberal and simple adorning of Words; but also [that Care is to be taken] for proper Gestures, according to the interjected Stops of the Voice, and the Compositions of the Countenance and Hands.* Yet he, who is in this place so curious and exact, again in the same Book, speaking of the Collision of the Vowel, says; *We ought not only, so let these things pass, minding [somewhat, that is] better,*
but

but also [to neglect] certain Obscurities and Defects, nay, Solecisms also of which others, [and those] not a few, would be asham'd. Certainly in one place to allow those, who would speak eloquently [so carefully] to dispose their Speech, [as even] to [observe] a *Decorum* [in the very Composition] of their Mouth and Hands; and in another place [to forbid] the taking Care of Defects and Absurdities, and the being asham'd even of committing Solecisms, is the Property of a Man, who [little cares, what he says, but rashly] utters, whatever comes [first] into [his Mouth.]

Moreover in his [*Natural Positions*] having warn'd us [not to trouble our selves, but] to be at quiet about such things, as require Experience and History, he says; *Let us not think after the same manner with Plato, that liquid Nourishment is convey'd to the Lungs, and dry to the Stomach, not let us embrace other Errors, like to these.* Now 'tis my Opinion, that to reprehend others, & then not to keep ones self from falling into those things, which one has reprehended, is the greatest of Contradictions, and shamefullest of Errors. But he says, that the Connexions, [made] by the ten [principal] Axioms, amount to above a Million in Number, having neither search'd diligently into it by himself, nor attain'd to the Truth by Men experienc'd in it. Yet *Plato* had to testify for him, the most renowned of the Physicians, *Hippocrates*, *Philistion*, and *Dioxippus* the Disciple of *Hippocrates*, and of the Poets, *Euripides*, *Alceus*, *Eupolis*, and *Eratoſthenes*, who [all] say, that the Drink passes through the Lungs. But all the Arithmeticians reſel *Chyrſippus*, amongst whom also is *Hipparchus*, demonstrating, that the Error of his Computation is very great; if indeed the Affirmative makes of the connext Axioms one hundred and three thousand forty and nine, and the Negative three hundred and ten thousand, nine hundred fifty and two.

Some of the Ancients have said, that the same beſel
Zeno,

Zeno, which befalls him, who has sour Wine, which he can sell neither for Vinegar nor Wine; for his *Precedent*, as he call'd it, cannot be dispos'd of, either as good, or indifferent. But *Chrysippus* has made the Matter yet far more intricate, for he sometimes says, that they are mad, who make no account of Riches, Health, Freedom from Pain, and Integrity of the Body, nor take any Care to attain them, and having cited that Sentence of *Hesiod*,

Work hard, O God-born Perles ———

He crys out, that 'twould be a madness to advise the contrary, and say,

Work not, O God-born Perles ———

And in his Book *Of Lives* he affirms, that a wise Man will for the sake of Gain live with Kings, and teach for Money, receiving from some of his Scholars his Reward before hand, and making Contracts with others of them; and in his seventh Book of *Duties* he says, that he will [not scruple to] turn his Heels thrice over his Head, if for so doing he may have a Talent. In his first Book *Of Good Things*, he yields and grants to those that desire it, to call these *Precedents* Good, and their Contraries Evil, in these very Words: *If any one will, according to these Permutations, call one thing good to himself, and another evil, having a regard to these things, and not wandring elsewhere, nor failing in the Understandings of the things signify'd, let him in the rest accommodate himself to Custom for the Denominations.* Having thus in this place set his *Precedent* so near, and mixt it with Good, he again says, that none of these things belongs at all to us, but that Reason withdraws and averts us from all such things: for he has written thus in his first Book *Of Exhortations*. And in his third Book *Of Nature* he says, that some esteem these happy, who reign, and are rich;

which is all one, as if those should be reputed happy, who make Water in golden Chamber pots, and wear golden Fringes. But to a good Man, the Losing of his whole Estate is but as the losing of one Groat, and the being sick no more, than if he had stumbled. Wherefore he has not fill'd Vertue only, but Providence also, with these Contradictions. For Vertue would seem to the utmost degree sordid and foolish, if it should busie it self about such Matters, and enjoyn a wise Man for their sake to fall to *Bosphorus*, or tumble with his Heels over his Head. And *Jupiter* would be very ridiculous to be styl'd *Ctesius*, *Epicarpus* and *Charidotes*; because forsooth he gives the Wicked golden Chamber-pots, and golden Fringes, and the Good such things, as are hardly worth a Groat, when through *Jupiters* Providence they become rich. And yet much more ridiculous is *Apollo*, if he sits to give Oracles concerning golden Fringes and Chamber-pots, and the recovering of a Stumble. But they make this Repugnancy yet more evident by their Demonstration: For they say, that what may be us'd both well and ill, the same is neither good nor bad: But Fools make an ill use of Riches, Health and Strength of Body; therefore none of these is good. If therefore God gives not Vertue to Men, but Honesty is eligible of it self, and yet bestows on them Riches and Health without Vertue, he confers them not on those, who will use them well, but ill, that is, hurtfully, shamefully and perniciously. Now, if the Gods indeed can bestow Vertue, and do not, they are not good; but if they cannot make Men good, neither can they help them. Now [to say,] that the Gods judge those, who are otherwise made good, according to Vertue and Strength, is nothing [to the purpose:] for good Men also judge evil ones according to Vertue and Strength: so that they do no more aid Men, than they are aided by them.

Now

Now *Chrysippus* neither professes himself to be virtuous, nor any one of his Disciples and Teachers. What then do they think of others, but those things which they say: That they are mad, Fools, Impious, Transgressors of the Laws, and in the utmost degree of Misery and Unhappiness? And yet they say, that our Affairs, though we act thus miserably, are govern'd by the Providence of the Gods. Now if the Gods, changing [their Mind,] should desire to hurt, afflict, overthrow, and quite crush us, they could not put us in a worse Condition, than we already are, as *Chrysippus* demonstrates, that Life can neither admit an Excess of Misery or Unhappiness; so that if it had a Voice, it would pronounce these Words of *Hercules*:

*I am so full of Miseries, there is
No Place to stow them in——*

Now who can imagine any Effertion more repugnant to one another, than that of *Chrysippus* concerning the Gods, and that concerning Men; when he says, that the Gods do in the best manner possible provide for Men; and yet Men are in the worst Condition imaginable?

Some of the *Pythagoreans* blame him for having in his Book Of *Justice* written concerning Cocks, that they are usefully procreated, because they awaken us from our Sleep, hunt out Scorpions, and animate us to Battle, breeding in us a certain Emulation to shew Courage; and yet that we must eat them, lest the Number of Chickens should be greater, than were expedient. But he so derides those, who blame him for this, that he has written thus concerning *Jupiter* the Saviour, Creator and Father of Justice, Equity and Peace, in his third Book Of the Gods. As Cities, overcharg'd [with too great a Number of Citizens,] send forth Colonies into other Places, and make war upon some; so does God give the Beginnings of Corruption. And he brings in *Euripides* for a

Witness with others, who say, that the *Trojan War* was caus'd by the Gods, to exhaust the Multitude of Men.

But letting pass their other Absurdities (for our Design is not to enquire, what they have said amiss, but only what they have said dissonantly to themselves :) consider, how he always attributes to the Gods specious and kind Appellations ; but at the same time cruel, barbarous and *Galatian* Deeds. For those so great Slaughters and Carnages, as were the Productions of the *Trojan War*, and again of the *Median* and *Peloponnesian*, were no way like to Colonies, unless these men know of some Cities built in Hell, and under the Earth. But *Chrysippus* makes God like to *Deiotarus*, the *Galatian* King, who having many Sons, and being desirous to leave his Kingdom and House to one of them, kill'd all the rest ; as he that cuts and prunes away all the other Branches from the Vine, that one, which he leaves remaining, may grow strong and great ; but the Vine-dresser does this, the Sprigs being slender and weak. And we, to favour a Bitch, take from her many of her new-born Puppies, whilst they are yet blind. But *Jupiter*, having not only suffer'd and seen Men to grow up, but having also both created and increas'd them, plagues them [afterwards,] devising Occasions of their Destruction and Corruption ; [whereas] he should [rather] not have given [them] any Causes and Beginnings of Generation.

However this is but a small matter ; but that, [which follows,] is greater. For there is no War amongst Men without Vice. But sometimes [Luxury, or] the Love of Pleasure, sometimes [Avarice, or] the Love of Money, and sometimes [Ambition, or] the Love of Glory and Rule is the Cause of it. If therefore God is the Author of Wars, [he must be] also of Sins, provoking and perverting Men. And yet himself says in his

Treatise

Treatise Of *Judgment*, and his second Book Of *the Gods*, that 'tis no way rational to say, that the Divinity is in any respect the cause of Dishonesty. For as the Law can no way be the Cause of transgressing, so neither can the Gods of being impious; therefore neither is it rational, that they should be the Causes of any thing that is filthy. What therefore can be more filthy to Men, than the mutual Killing of one another? to which *Chrysippus* says, that God gives Beginnings. But some one perhaps will say, that he elsewhere praises *Euripides* for saying,

If Gods do ought dishonest, they're no Gods;

And again:

'Tis a most easie thing t' accuse the Gods:

As if we were now doing any thing else, than setting down such Words and Sentences of his, as are repugnant to one another. Yet that very thing, which is now prais'd, may be objected, not once, or twice, or thrice, but even ten thousand times against *Chrysippus*:

'Tis a most easie thing t' accuse the Gods.

For first having in his Book Of *Nature* compar'd the Eternity of Motion to a Drink, made of divers Species, confusedly mixt together, turning and jumbling the things that are made, some this way, others that way, he goes on thus: *Now the Administration of the Universe proceeding in this manner, 'tis of Necessity, we should be in the Condition we are, whether contrary to our own Nature we are sick, or maim'd, or whether we are Grammarians, or Musicians.* And again a little after: *According to this Reason, we shall say the like of our Vertue and Vice, and generally of Arts, or the Ignorance of Arts, as I have said.* And a little after, taking away all Ambiguity, [he says:] *For no*

particular thing, not even the least, can be otherwise, than according to common Nature, and its Reason. But that common Nature, and the common Reason of Nature is [with him] Fate and Providence, and Jupiter, is not unknown even to the *Antipodes*. For these things are every where inculcated by them; and he affirms, that *Homer* said very well,

—*The Will of Jove was done,*

Having Respect to Fate, and the Nature of the Universe. How then do these things agree, both that God is no way the Cause of any dishonest thing; and again that not even the least thing [imaginable] can be otherwise done, than according to common Nature and its Reason; For amongst all things, that are done, there must of necessity be also dishonest things. And though *Epicurus* indeed turns himself every way, and studies Artifices, devising how to deliver, and set loose our voluntary Free Will from this eternal Motion, that he may not leave Vice irreprehensible; [yet *Chrysippus*] gives, it [to wit, Vice,] a most absolute Liberty, as being done, not only of Necessity, or according to Fate, but also according to the Reason of God, and best Nature. And these things are yet farther seen, being thus Word for Word: *For common Nature extending to all things, it will be of necessity that every thing, howsoever done in reason and in whatsoever of its Parts must be done according to this [common Nature.] and the Reason of this proceeding on without any Impediment. For there is nothing without, that can hinder the Administration, nor is there any of the Parts, that can be mov'd, or habituated otherwise, than according to common Nature.* What then are these Habits and Motions of the Parts? 'Tis manifest, that the Habits are Vices and Diseases, Covetousness, Luxury, Ambition, Cowardise, Injustice; and that the Motions are Adulteries, Thefts, Treasons, Murders, Parricides.

ricides. Of these *Chrysippus* thinks, that no one, either little or great, is contrary to the Reason of *Jupiter*, the Law, Justice and Providence; so that neither the transgressing of the Law is done against the Law, nor the acting unjustly against Justice, nor the committing of Sin against Providence. And yet he says, that God punishes Vice, and does many things for the chastizing of the Wicked. And in his second Book *Of the Gods* he says, that many Adversities sometimes befall the Good, not, as they do the Wicked, for Punishment, but according to another Dispensation, as it is in Cities. And again in these Words: *First we are to understand of Evils in like manner, as has been said before, then, that these things are distributed according to the Reason of Jupiter, whether for Punishment, or according to some other Dispensation, having in some sort [Respect] to the Universe.* This therefore is indeed severe, that Wickedness is both done, and punish'd according to the Reason of *Jupiter*. But he aggravates this Contradiction in his second Book *Of Nature*, written thus: *Vice, in reference to grievous Accidents has a certain Reason of its own. For 'tis also in some sort according to the Reason of Nature, and, as I may so say, is not wholly useless in respect of the Universe: for otherwise also there would not be any Good.* Thus does he reprehend those, that dispute indifferently on both sides, who out of a Desire to say something wholly singular, and more exquisite concerning every thing, affirms, that [Men] do not unprofitably cut Purfes, calumniate, and play the Madmen, and that 'tis not unprofitable, there should be unprofitable, hurtful and unhappy [Persons.] What manner [of God] then is *Jupiter*, I mean *Chrysippus's* [*Jupiter*.] who punishes an Ad, neither done willingly, nor unprofitably. For Vice is indeed according to *Chrysippus's* Discourse, wholly irreprehensible; but *Jupiter* is to be blam'd, whether he has made Vice, being an unprofitable thing, or having made it

not unprofitably, punishes it. Again in his first Book *Of Justice*, having spoken of the Gods, as resisting the Injustices of some, he says, *But wholly to take away Vice, is neither possible nor expedient* [Whether it were not better.] that Law breaking, Injustice and Folly, should be taken away, 'tis not the Design of this present Discourse to enquire. But he himself, as much as in him lies, by his Philosophy taking away Vice, which 'tis not expedient to take away, does something repugnant both to Reason and God. Besides this, saying, that God resists some Injustices, he again insinuates the Inequality of Sins,

Having often written, that there is nothing reprehensible, nothing to be complain'd of in the World, all things being finish'd according to a most excellent Nature; he again elsewhere leaves certain Negligences to be reprehended, and those not concerning small or base Matters. For having in his third Book *Of Substance* related, that some such things befall honest and good Men, he says: *Whether it be, that some things are not regarded, as in great Families some Bran, yea, and some Grains of Corn also are scatter'd, the Generality being [nevertheless] well order'd; or whether there are [any] evil Genii set over such things, in which indeed there are faulty Negligences;* and he also affirms, that there is much Necessity intermixt. I let pass, how inconsiderate it is, to compare such Accidents, befalling honest and good Men, as were the Condemnation of *Socrates*, the Burning of *Pythagoras*, whilst he was yet living, by the *Cyloneans*, the putting to Death, and that with Torture, of *Zeno* by the Tyrant *Demulus*; and of *Antiphon* by *Dionysius*, with the letting fall of Bran. But that there should be evil Genii plac'd by Providence over such Charges; how can it but be a Reproach to God, as [it would] to a King to commit the [Administration of his] Provinces to evil and rash Governours and Caprains, and suffer the

the best [of his Subjects] to be dispis'd and ill treated by them? And furthermore, if there is much Necessity mixt amongst Affairs, then God has not Power over them all, nor are they all administred according to his Reason.

He contends much agaings^t *Epicurus*, and those, that take away Providence from the Conceptions, we have of the Gods, whom we esteem beneficial and gracious to Men. And these things being frequently said by them, there is no necessity of setting down the Words. Yet all do not conceive the Gods to be good [and favorable,] to us. For see what the *Jews* and *Syrians* think of the Gods; look also into the Poems, with how much Superstition they are fill'd. But there is not any one in a manner to speak of, that images God to be corruptible, or have been born. And to omit all others, *Antipater the Tarsian*, in his Book *Of the Gods*, writes thus word for word; *But to render all the Discourse perspicuous, we will briefly repeat the Opinion, we have concerning God. We understand therefore God to be an Animal, blessed, and incorruptible, and beneficial to Men.* And then expounding every one of these [Terms,] he says: *And indeed all esteem the Gods to be incorruptible.* *Chrysippus* therefore is according to *Antipater*, none of all; for he thinks none of the Gods, except *Jupiter*, to be incorruptible; but that they all were equally born, and shall dy. These things are in a manner every where said by him. But I will set down his Words out of his third Book *Of the Gods*, according to another Discourse. *For some of them are born and corruptible; but others not born. And to demonstrate these things from the beginning, will be more fit for a Treatise of Nature. For the Sun, the Moon, and other Gods, who are of a like Nature, were begotten; but Jupiter is eternal.* And again going on; *But the like will be said concerning dying and being born, both concerning the other Gods, and Jupiter. For they indeed are corruptible, but his*
Paris

Parts incorruptible. With these I will compare a few of the things said by *Antipater*. *Whosoever they are, that shall take away from the Gods Beneficence, they touch but in part the prenotation of them, and according to the same Reason, they also, who think, they participate of Generation and Corruption.* If then he, who esteems the Gods corruptible, is equally absurd with him, who thinks them not to be provident and gracious to Men, *Chrysippus* is no less in an Error than *Epicurus*. For one of them deprives the Gods of Beneficence, the other of Incorruptibility.

And moreover, *Chrysippus* in his third Book *Of the Gods*, [treating] of the other Gods being nourish'd, says thus ; *The other Gods indeed use Nourishment, being equally sustain'd by it ; but Jupiter and the World after another manner than those, who are consum'd, and were engendered by Fire.* Here indeed he declares, that all the other Gods are nourish'd, except the World, and *Jupiter* ; but in his first Book *Of Providence* he says, that *Jupiter* increases, till he has consum'd all things into himself. *For since Death is the Separation of the Soul from the Body, and the Soul of the World is not indeed separated, but increases continually, till it has consum'd all Matter into it self, 'tis not to be said, that the World dies.* Who therefore can appear to speak things more contradictory to himself, then he, who says, that the same God [is nourish'd, and not nourish'd ?] Nor is there any need of gathering this by Argument ; for himself has plainly written in the same place ; *But the World alone is said to be self-sufficient, because it alone has in it self all things, it stands indeed of, and is nourish'd, and augmented of it self, the other Parts being mutually chang'd into one another.* He is then repugnant to himself, not only by declaring in one Place, that all the Gods are nourish'd, except the World, and *Jupiter*, and saying in another, that the World also is nourish'd ; but much more, when he affirms, that the World increases by nourishing it self:
Now

Now the contrary had been [much more] probable, [to wit] that the World alone does not increase, having its own Destruction for its Food; but that Addition and Increase are Incident to the other Gods, who are nourish'd from without, and that the World is rather consum'd into them, if so it is, that the World feeds on it self, and they always receive something, and are nourish'd from that.

Secondly, The Conception of the Gods contains in it Felicity, Blessedness, and Self perfection. Wherefore also *Euripides* is commended for saying;

*For God, If truly God does nothing want
Of these; and all their Speeches are but Cant.*

But *Chrysippus*, in the places, I have alledg'd, says, that the World only is self-sufficient, because this alone has in it self all things it needs. What then follows from this, that the World alone is self-sufficient? That neither the Sun, Moon, nor any other of the Gods, is self-sufficient, and not being self-sufficient, they are not happy, or blessed.

He says, that the Infant in the Womb is nourish'd by Nature, like a Plant; but when it is brought forth, being cool'd and hardned by the Air, it changes its Spirit, and becomes an Animal; whence the Soul is not unfitly nam'd *Psyche*, because of this Refrigeration. But again, he esteems the Soul the more subtil and fine Spirit of Nature, therein contradicting himself; for how can a subtil thing be made of a gross one, and be rarify'd by Refrigeration and Condensation? And what is more, how does he, declaring an Animal to be made by Refrigeration, think the Sun to be animated, which is of Fire, and made of an Exhalation, chang'd into Fire? For he says in his third Book *Of Nature*; *Now the Change of Fire is such; it is turn'd by the Air into Water; and the Earth subsisting of this, the Air exhales; the Air*
being

being subtiliz'd, the Æther [or Fire] is produc'd round about it; and the Stars are with the Sun kindled from the Sea. Now what is more contrary to Kindling than Refrigeration, or to Rarefaction than Condensation? [Of which] the one makes Water and Earth of Fire and Air, and the other changes that, which is moist and earthy, into Fire and Air. But yet in one place he makes Kindling, in another Cooling to be the Beginning of Animation. And he moreover says, that, when the Inflammation is throughout, it lives and is an Animal; but being again extinct and thickned, it is turn'd into Water, and Earth, and Corporeity. Now in his first Book Of Providence, he says; *For the World indeed, being wholly set on fire, is presently also the Soul and Guide of it self; but when being chang'd into Moisture, and the Soul remaining within it, it in some sort passes with that into a Body and Soul so as to consist of them, it is then after another manner:* Here forsooth he plainly says, that the inanimate parts of the World are by Inflammation turn'd into an animated thing; and that again by Extinction the Soul is relax'd and moistned, being chang'd into Corporeity. He seems therefore very absurd, one while by Refrigeration making Animals of senseless things; and again, by the same changing the greatest part of the Worlds Soul into senseless and inanimate things.

But besides this, his Discourse concerning the Generation of the Soul, has a Demonstration contrary to his own Opinion; for he says, that the Soul is generated, when the Infant is already brought forth, the Spirit being chang'd by Refrigeration, as by Hardning. Now for the Souls being engendred, and that after the Birth, he chiefly uses this Demonstration, that the Children are for the most part in manners and Inclinations like to their Parents. Now the Repugnancy of these things is evident. For tis not possible, that the Soul, which is [not] generated [till] after the Birth, should have its Inclination

on

on before the Birth; or it will fall out, that the Soul is like, before it is generated; that is, it will both be in likeness, and yet not be, because it is not yet generated. But if any one says, that the likeness being bred in the Tempers of the Bodies, the Souls are chang'd, when they are generated, he destroys the Argument of the Souls being generated. For thus it may come to pass, that the Soul, though not generated, may at its Entrance [into the Body] be chang'd by the Mixture of Likeness.

He says sometimes, that the Air is light, and mounts upwards, and sometimes, that 'tis neither heavy nor light. For in his second Book *Of Motion*, he says, that the Fire, being without Gravity, ascends upwards, and the Air like to that; the Water approaching more to the Earth, and the Air to the Fire. But in his *Physical Arts*, he inclines to the other Opinion, that the Air of it self has neither Gravity nor Levity. He says, that the Air is by Nature Dark, and uses this as an Argument of its being also the first Cold; for that its Darkness is opposite to the Brightness, and its Coldness to the Heat of Fire. Moving this in his *Book Of Natural Questions*, he again in his *Treatise Of Habits* says, that Habits are nothing else but Airs. For Bodies are contain'd by these and the Cause, that every one of the Bodies, contain'd in [any] Habit, is such [as it is,] is the containing Air, which they call in Iron Hardness, in Stone Solidness, in Silver Whiteness; these [Words] having [in them] much Absurdity and Contradiction: For if the Air remains such, as it is of its own Nature, how comes Black in that, which is not White, to be made Whiteness, and Soft in that, which is not Hard, to be made Hardness; and Rare in that, which is not thick, to be made thickness? But if being mixt with these it is alter'd and made like to them, how is it an Habit or Cause of these things, by which it is subdu'd? For such

a Change, by which it loses its own Qualities, is [the Property] of a Patient, not of an Agent, and not of a thing containing, but languishing. Yet they every where affirm, that Matter, being of its own Nature idle and motionless, is subjected to Qualities, and that the Qualities are Spirits; which, being also aerial Tensions, give a Form and Figure to every Part of Matter, to which they adhere. These things they cannot [rationally] say, supposing the Air to be such, as they affirm it. For it is an Habit and Tension, it will assimilate every Body to it self, so that it shall be black and soft. But if by the Mixture with these things it receives Forms contrary to those it has, it will be in some sort the Matter, and not the Cause or Power of Matter.

It is often said by *Chrysippus*, that there is without the World an infinite *Vacuum*, and that this Infinity has neither Beginning, Middle, nor End. And by this the *Stoics* chiefly refute that spontaneous Motion of the Atoms downward, which is taught by *Epicurus*, there not being in Infinity any Difference, according to which, one thing is thought to be above, another below. But in his fourth Book Of things possible, having suppos'd a certain middle Place, and middle Region, he says, that the World is situated there. The Words are these : *Wherefore 'tis to be said of the World, that it is incorruptible; which though it seems to want Proof, yet nevertheless it rather appears to me to be so. However the Comprehension of Place co-operates very much towards its Incorruptibility, because it is [seated] in the midst; since if it were thought to be any where else, Corruption would absolutely take hold of it. And again a little after; For so also in a manner has Essence hapned eternally to have possess'd the middle Place, being immediatly [from the Beginning] such [as it is] so that both by another manner, and through this Chance, it admits not any Corruption, [and] is therefore eternal. These Words have*
one

one apparent and visible Contradiction, [to wit] his admitting a certain middle Place and middle Region in Infinity ; [They have also] a second, more obscure indeed, but [withal] more absurd than this. For thinking that the World would not have remain'd incorruptible, if its Situation had hapn'd to have been in any other part of the *Vacuum*, he manifestly appears to have fear'd, lest, the Parts of Essence moving towards the Middle, there should be a Dissolution and Corruption of the World. Now this he would not have fear'd, had he not thought, that Bodies do by Nature tend from every Place towards the Middle, not of Essence, but of the Region containing Essence ; Of which also he has frequently spoken, as of a thing impossible, and that is contrary to Nature ; for that there is not in the *Vacuum* any Difference, by which Bodies are drawn rather this way then that way ; but that the Construction of the World is the Cause of Motion, [Bodies] inclining and being carry'd from every side to the Center and Middle of it. 'Tis sufficient for this Purpose, to set down the Text out of his second Book *Of Motion* ; For having discours'd, that the World indeed is a perfect Body, but that the Parts of the World are not perfect, because they have in some sort respect to the whole, and are not of themselves ; and going forward concerning its Motion, as having been fram'd by Nature to be mov'd by all its Parts to its Compaction and Cohæsion, and not to its Dissolution and Breaking, he says thus ; *But the Universe thus tending and being mov'd to the same Point, and the Parts having the same Motion from the Nature of the Body, 'tis probable, that all Bodies have this first Motion according to Nature, towards the Middle of the World, the World being thus mov'd towards it self, and the Parts, as being Parts.* What then ail'd you, good Sir, (might some one say to him) that you have so far forgotten these Words, as to affirm, that the World, if
it

it had not casually possess'd the middle Place, would have been dissoluble and corruptible. For if it is by Nature so fram'd, as always to incline towards the Middle, and its Parts from every side tend to the same, into what Place soever of the *Vacuum* it should have been transpos'd, thus containing, and [as it were] embracing it self, it would have remain'd incorruptible, and without danger of breaking. For things that are broken and dissipated, suffer this by the Separation and Dissolution of their Parts, every one [of them] hastening to its own Place from that, which it had contrary to Nature. But you, being of Opinion, that, if the World should have been seated in any other Place of the *Vacuum*, it would have been wholly liable to Corruption, and affirming the same, and therefore [asserting] a Middle in that, which naturally can have no Middle, to wit, in that which is infinite, have indeed dismiss'd these Tensions, Coherences and Inclinations, as having nothing available to its Preservation, and attributed all the Cause of its Permanency to the Possession of Place, and, as if you were ambitious to confute your self, to the things, you have said before, you joyn this also. *In whatsoever manner every one of the Parts moves, being coherent to the rest, 'tis agreeable to Reason, that in the same also it should move by it self; yea, though we should, for Argument sake, imagine and suppose it to be in some Vacuity of this World; for, as being kept in on every side, it mov'd towards the Middle; so it would continue in the same Motion, though by way of Disputation [we should admit that] there were on a sudden a Vacuum round about it.* No Part then whatsoever, tho encompass'd by a *Vacuum*, loses its Inclination, moving it towards the middle of the World; but the World it self, if chance had not prepar'd it a Place in the Middle, would have lost its containing Vigor, the Parts of its Essence being carry'd some one way, some another. And these things indeed contain great Contradictions

dictions to Natural Reason ; but this is also repugnant to the Doctrin concerning God and Providence, that assigning to them the least Causes, he takes from them the most principal and greatest. For what is more principal than the Permanency of the World, or that its Essence, united in its Parts, is contain'd in it self? But this, as *Chrysippus* says, tell out casually. For if the Possession of Place is the Cause of Incorrumpibility, and this was the Production of Chance, 'tis manifest, that the Preservation of the Universe is a Work of Chance, and not of Fate and Providence.

Now as for his Doctrin of Possibles, how can it but be repugnant to his Doctrin of Fate? For if that is not possible, which either is true, or shall be true, as *Diodorus* has it ; but every thing which is capable of being, though it never shall be, is possible ; there will be many of those things possible, which will never be according to invincible, inviolable and all conquering Fate. [And] either Fate will lose its Power, or if that, as *Chrysippus* thinks, has Existence, that which is susceptible of Being, will often fall out to be impossible. And every thing indeed, which is true, will be necessary, being comprehended by the Principal of all Necessities ; and every thing that is false, will be impossible, having the greatest Cause to oppose its ever being true. For how is it possible, that he should be susceptible of diving on the Land, who is destinated to dive at Sea ? and how is it possible for him, who is at *Megara*, to come to *Athens*, being prohibited by Fate ?

But moreover, the things that are boldly asserted by him concerning Fantasies [or Imaginations ;] are very opposite to Fate. For desiring to shew, that Fantasie is not of it self a perfect cause of Consent, he said, that the Sages [or wise Men] will prejudice us by imprinting false Imaginations [in our Minds,] if Fantasies do of themselves absolutely cause Consents ; for wise Men of-

men make use of Falsity against the Wicked, representing a probable Imagination, yet not the Cause of Consent; for then it would be also a Clause of false Apprehension and Error. Any one therefore, transferring these things from the wise Man to Fate, may say, that Consents are not caus'd by Fate; for [if they were] false Consents and Opinions, and Deceptions would also be [by Fate,] and Men would be endamag'd by Fate. Thus the Reason, which exempts the wise Man from doing hurt, at the same time also demonstrates, that Fate is not the Cause of all things. For if Men neither opine, nor are prejudic'd by Fate, 'tis manifest [also,] that they neither act rightly, nor are wise, nor remain firm in their Sentiments, nor have Utility by Fate; but that there is an End of Fate's being the Cause of all things. Now if any one shall say, that *Chrysippus* makes not Fate the absolute Cause of all things, but only a Procatartical [or Antecedent] one, he will again shew, that he is contradictory to himself, since he excessively praises *Homer* for saying of *Jupiter*:

*Receive, whatever Good or Evil He
Shall send to each of you——*

As also *Euripides* [for these Words:]

*O Jove, how can I say, that wretched we
Poor Mortals understand ought? For on thee
We all depend, and nothing can transact,
But as thy sacred Wisdom shall enact.*

And himself writes many things agreeable to these. In fine, he says, that nothing, be it never so little, either rests, or is mov'd, otherwise than according to the Reason of *Jupiter*, which is the same thing with Fate. Moreover, the Catartic [Antecedent, or Principiating] Cause is weaker than the absolute one, and attains not [to its effect,] being subdu'd by others, that rise up against

gainst it. But he himself, declaring Fate to be an invincible, unimpeachable, and inflexible Cause, calls it * *Atropos*, † *Adrassteia*, *Necessity*, and *Peptomene*, as putting a Limit [or End] to all things. Whether then shall we say, that neither Consents nor Vertues, nor Vices, nor doing well, nor doing ill, are in us, [or in our Power?] or shall we affirm, that Fate is deficient, that terminating Destiny is unable to determine, and that the Motions and Habits of *Jupiter* [and his Reason] are unaccomplish'd? For the one of these [two Consequences] will follow from Fates being an absolute, the other from its being only a Procatartetic Cause. For if it is an absolute Cause, it takes away our Free Will, and what is in us; and if it is [only Procatartetic, it loses its being unimpeachable and effectual. For not once, or ten times, but every where, especially in his *Physics*, he has written, that there are many Obstacles and Impediments to particular Natures and Motions, but none to that of the Universe. And how can the Motion of the Universe, extending [as it does] to particular ones, be undisturb'd, and unimpeach'd, if these are stop'd and hinder'd? For neither can the Nature of Man be free from Impediment, if that of the Foot or Hand is not so; nor can the Motion of a Ship but be hinder'd, if there are any Obstacles about the Sails, or the Operation of the Oars. Besides [all] this, if the Fantasies are not according to Fate, [neither are they the Causes] of Consents; but if when it imprints Fantasies, leading to Consent, the Consents are said to be according to Fate, how is it not contrary to it self, imprinting in the greatest Matters different Imaginations, and such, as draw the Understanding contrary ways? Since, they say, that those, who adhere to one of them, and withhold not their Consent, do amiss; for if they yield to obscure

things,

things, they stumble; if to false, they are deceiv'd; if to such as are not commonly comprehended, they opine. And yet one of these three is of necessity, either that every Fantasia is not the Work of Fate, or that every Recit and Consent of Fantasia is faultless, or that Fate it self is not irreprehensible. For I do not know how it can be blameless, proposing to us such Fantasies, that not the resisting, or going against them, but the following and yielding to them is blameable. Moreover, both *Chrysippus* and *Antipater*, in their Disputes against the *Academics*, take not a little pains to prove, that we neither act, nor are incited without Consent, saying, that, they [build on] Fictions, and false Suppositions, who think, that, a proper Fantasia being presented, we are presently incited, without having either yielded, or consented. Again *Chrysippus* says, that God imprints in us false Imaginations, as does also the wise Man, not that they would have us consent, or yield to them, but only that we should act, and be incited to that, which appears; but that we, being evil, do through Infirmitie consent to such Fantasies. Now the Perplexity and Discrepancy of these Discourses from themselves is not very difficult to be discern'd. For he, that would not have Men consent, but only act, whether it be God, or a wise Man, knows, that the Fantasies are sufficient for acting, and that Consents are superfluous. So that if knowing, that the Imagination gives us not an Instinct to work without Consent, he ministers to us false and probable Fantasies, he is the voluntary Cause of our falling and erring, by assenting to incomprehensible things.

Plutarch's Morals.

Vol. IV.

*Of the Word Εἶ, Engraven over the Gate of
Apollo's Temple at Delphi.*

Translated out of the Greek by R. Kippax, M. A.

IHapned not long since, dear *Sarapion*, on certain, not unelegant Verses, which *Dicæarchus* supposes [the Poet] *Euripides* to have [heretofore] spoken to [King] *Archelaus*:

*I'm poor, you rich, I'll therefore nothing give,
Lest me, or Fool, or Beggar, you believe.*

For he, who out of his little Estate makes small Presents to those, that have great Possessions, does them no Pleasure, nay, [which is yet worse,] being not believ'd to give [even that little *gratis*, or] for nothing, he incurs the Suspition of being of a sordid and ungenerous Disposition. But since pecuniary Presents are both in Bounty and Beauty far inferior to such, as proceed from Learning and Wisdom, 'tis honorable both to make such Presents, and at our giving them, to desire suitable Returns from the Receivers. I therefore, sending to you, and for your Sake, to our Friends in those Parts, as a First-fruit Offering, some Discourses concerning the *Pythian* Affairs, confess, that I do [in requital] expect others, both more, and better from you, as being [Persons] conversant in a great City, and enjoy-

ing more Leisure amongst many Books and Conferences of all sorts. For indeed our good *Apollo* seems to cure and solve such Difficulties, as occur in [the ordinary Management of our] Life, by giving his Oracles to those that resort to him ; but as for those, which concern Learning, he leaves and proposes them to that Faculty of the Soul, which is naturally addicted to the Study of Philosophy, imprinting in it a Desire leading to Truth ; as is manifest both in many other Matters, and in the Consecration of [this Inscription] EÎ. For 'tis not probable, that 'twas either by chance, or by a Lottery (as it were) of Letters, that this [Word] alone was by the God, plac'd in the principal Seat, and receiv'd the Dignity of a sacred Donary and Spectacle ; but ['tis highly credible] that those, who at the beginning philosophiz'd concerning this God, gave it that Station, either as seeing it in some peculiar and extraordinary Power, or using it as a Symbol, to [signifie] some other thing, worthy of [our] Attention.

Having therefore often formerly declin'd and avoid-ed this Discourse, when propos'd in the School, I was lately surpriz'd by my own Children, as I was debating with certain Strangers, who being on their Departure out of *Delphi*, I could not in Civility hold them in suspense, nor yet refuse discoursing with them, since they were exceeding earnest to hear something. Being therefore sat down by the Temple, I began my self to search into some things, and to ask them concerning others, [being] by the Place, and the very Talk, [we had, put in mind of those things] we had heretofore at such time, as *Nero* pass'd through these Parts, heard *Ammonius* and some others Discourse, the same Difficulty having been [then] likewise in this very place propounded. Because therefore this God is no less a Philosopher than a Prophet. *Ammonius* seem'd to all [of us,] rightly to have apply'd every one of his Names to this purpose, and to have

have taught [us,] that he is *Pythius*, [or a Questionist,] to those, who begin to learn and enquire; *Delius* and *Phaneus* [or a Manifester and Approver] to those, to whom somewhat of the Truth is already manifest and shines forth; *Ismenius* [or Knowing,] to those, that have acquir'd Knowledge and a Readiness of Speech; and *Horius* [or a Finisher] when they practice and enjoy [their Science,] making use [of it] to discourse and philosophize with one another. Now forasmuch as to philosophize, implies to enquire, to wonder, and to doubt; 'tis probable, that many of the things, that concern this God, are not unskillfully conceal'd under Ænigms, [or mystical Speeches and Ceremonies,] and [therefore] require [one should ask] the Reason why, and [seek] to be instructed in the Cause; as, Why of all Wood, Fir only is burnt in the eternal Fire: Why the Lawrel only is us'd in Fumigations: Why there are erected but two [Statues of the] *Parcae*, [or fatal Sisters,] they being every where [else] thought to be three: Why no Woman is permitted to have Access to the Curtain: What is the Reason of the *Tripus* [or three footed Chair,] and other such like things, which being propos'd to those, who are not altogether irrational and Soul-less, allure and incite [such Persons] to consider, hear and discourse something about them. And do but behold, how many questions these Inscriptions, *Know thy self*, and *Nothing too much*, have set a foot amongst the Philosophers, and what a Multitude of Discourses has sprung up from each of them, as from a Seed; than neither of which, I think the Matter now in question to be less fruitful.

Ammonius having spoken thus, *Lamprias* the Delphian said, ' The Reason indeed, which we have heard of this, is plain and very short; for, they say, that those wise Men, who were by some call'd Sophisters,

were but five, *Chilon, Thales, Solon, Bias* and *Pittacus*. But after that *Cleobulus*, the Tyrant of the *Lindians*, and *Periander* the *Corinthian*, though wholly destitute of Vertue and Wisdom, had by [their] Power, Friends, and Courtesie, forc'd a Reputation, set forth and dispers'd all over *Greece*, certain Sentences and Sayings, not unlike to those, which had been spoken by these [others.] the [five former Sages, or wise] Men, being discontented at it, would not however reprove their Arrogancy, nor openly contest, and enter into Quarrels for Glory, with Men of so great Power; but assembling here together, and consulting with one another, they consecrated the Letter E, which is in the Order [of the Alphabet] the fifth, and signifies five in Number, protesting of themselves before the God, that they were but five, and rejecting and abdicating the sixth and seventh, as not belonging to them. Now that these things are not spoken beside the Cushion, any one might understand, who should have heard those, [who have care] of the Temple, naming the golden Eī [the Eī] of *Livia* the Wife of *Augustus Caesar*, and the brazen one, [the Eī] of the *Athenians*; but the first and ancientest of all, which is the wooden one, they call [the Eī] of the Sages, as not being of any one, but the common Dedication of them all.

At this *Ammonius* gently smil'd, supposing *Lamprias* to have deliver'd an Opinion of his own, but to have feign'd, that he had heard the Story from others, lest he might be oblig'd to give an Account of it. But another of those, that were present, said, that this had some Affinity with what a certain *Chaldean* Stranger had lately babbl'd, [to wit,] that there are [in the Alphabet] seven Letters, rendring a [perfect] Sound of themselves, and in the Heavens seven Stars, mov'd by their own proper Motion, not bound [or link'd to that of the

the

the others;] That E is from the beginning the second in order of the Vowels, and the Sun of the Planets [the second, or next] to the Moon, and that the *Greeks* do all unanimously repute *Apollo* to be the same with the Sun. ‘ But these things, *said he*, wholly favour of his [Astrological] counting Table [or Scheme,] and his Mountebank like Harangue. But *Lamprias*, it seems, is not sensible of his having stirr’d up all those of the Temple against his Discourse; for there is not a Man of the *Delphians*, who knows any thing of what he has said; but they all have alledg’d the common and current Opinion, holding, that neither the Sight, nor Sound of his Writing, but the Word alone, [as it is written, [contains some Symbol [or secret Signification.] For [the Syllable εἰ, with which our *English* I F is correlative] is, as the *Delphians* conceive it, and as *Nicander the Priest*, who was then present, also said, a Conveyance and Form of Prayer to the God, and has the [first or] leading Place in the Questions of those, who at every turn use it, and ask, *If* they shall overcome; *If* they shall marry; *If* ’tis convenient to go to Sea; *If* to till the Ground; *If* to travel. And the wise God, bidding adieu to the Logicians, who think, nothing at all can be made of this Particle εἰ, [or *If*,] and any Proposition [joyn’d] with it, understands and admits all Interrogations annexed to it, as real things. Now, because ’tis proper for us to consult [him, as] a Prophet, and common to pray to [him, as] a God, they suppose, that this Word has no less a Precatory, than an Interrogatory Power. For every one, who prays, [or wishes,] says; εἰ ὀρελον; *If it might come to pass*; [or, *If it might please God*.] And *Archilochus* [has also this Expression;]

‘ *If I might be so happy, as to touch*

‘ *My Neobules Hand* ———

‘ And

‘ And they say that the second Syllable in this Word
 ‘ Εἴς is redundant, [signifying nothing,] like [ὅν in]
 ‘ this of *Sophon* :

‘ Ἀμα τέκνων δὴν δουμένα : —

‘ *Desiring also Children* ;

‘ And [in] this of *Homer* : —

‘ Ὡς δὴν καὶ σὺν ἐγὼ λυσιμύνης : —

‘ *As I will also foil my Strength* ;

‘ [In both which ὅν signifies nothing.] But in the
 ‘ Word Εἴ, there is sufficiently declar’d an optative
 ‘ Power.

Nicander having deliver’d these [Words,] our Friend
Theo, whom you know ask’d *Ammonius*, if he might
 have Liberty to plead for Logic, which was so highly
 injur’d. And *Ammonius* bidding him speak, and defend
 it, [as well as he could,] he said ; “ Now that this
 ‘ God is a most expert Logician, many of his Oracles
 ‘ shew ; for ’tis to wit, the Part of the same [Artist]
 ‘ to dissolve and frame Ambiguities. Moreover, as
 ‘ *Plato* said, when an Oracle was given [to the Greeks,]
 ‘ that they should double the Altar in *Delos*, which is
 ‘ a Work of the utmost Perfection in Geometry, that
 ‘ the God did not order [or intend] the doing of that
 ‘ very thing, but commanded the *Greeks* to apply
 ‘ themselves to Geometry ; so the same God, by gi-
 ‘ ving ambiguous Oracles, honors and recommends Lo-
 ‘ gic, as necessary to those, who desire to understand
 ‘ him aright. Now this Conjunction [Εἴ, or *If*,]
 ‘ so fit for the Connexion of a Speech, has very great
 ‘ Efficacy in Logic, as forming the most rational
 ‘ Proposition, for how can it be otherwise, since the
 ‘ very Brutes have indeed the Knowledge of the Sub-
 ‘ stance of things ; but to Man only has Nature given
 ‘ the Consideration and Judgment of Consequence. For
 ‘ that

‘ that there is both Day and Light, Wolves, and Dogs,
 ‘ and Birds are sensible. But that if it is Day, there
 ‘ must be Light, no other Animal understands, but
 ‘ Man, who only has the Conception of Antecedent
 ‘ and Consequence, of the Coherence and Connexion
 ‘ of these things with one another, and of their Habi-
 ‘ tude and Difference, from which things Demonstra-
 ‘ tions take their principal Beginning. Now since
 ‘ Philosophy is conversant about Truth, since the Light
 ‘ of Truth is Demonstration, and the Beginning of De-
 ‘ monstration this [Coherence and] Connexion [of
 ‘ Propositions,] the Faculty, which contains and effects
 ‘ this, was by wise Men with good reason consecrated to
 ‘ the God, who most of all loves Truth. Now the God
 ‘ indeed is a Prophet, and the Art of Prophesying is
 ‘ [a Divination] concerning the Future from things, that
 ‘ are present and past. For neither is the Original of
 ‘ any thing without a Cause, nor the Fore-knowledg of
 ‘ any thing without Reason. But since all things, that
 ‘ are done, follow and are connext to those, that have
 ‘ been done and those, that shall be done, to those,
 ‘ that are done, according to the Progress, proceeding
 ‘ from the Beginning to the End; he, who knows how
 ‘ to look into the Causes of this together, and natural-
 ‘ ly to connect them one with another, knows also, and
 ‘ divines,

‘ *What things now are, shall be, or e’re have been.*

‘ And *Homer* indeed [excellently] well places first things,
 ‘ that are present, and afterwards what is future and
 ‘ past. For the Argument is according to the Vertue
 ‘ of the Connexion taken from the present; Thus, *If*
 ‘ *this is, That preceded;* and again, *If this is, That shall*
 ‘ *be.* For the Knowledge of the Consequence is, as
 ‘ has been said, an artificial and rational thing; but
 ‘ Sense gives the Anticipation to Reason; Whence
 ‘ (though

' (though [it may seem] undecent to say it) I will not
 ' be afraid to aver this [Assertion,] that the *Tripus* [or
 ' Oracle] of Truth is Reason, which joyning the Con-
 ' sequence of the Subsequent to the Antecedent, and
 ' then assuming the present, infers the Conclusion of
 ' the Demonstration. If then the *Pythian* [*Apollo*] de-
 ' lights in Music, and [is pleas'd] with the Singing of
 ' Swans, and the Harmony of the Lute [or Harp,]
 ' what Wonder is it, that for the Sake of Logic, he
 ' embraces and loves this argumentative Particle, which
 ' he sees the Philosophers so much and so frequently to
 ' use? *Hercules* indeed, not having yet unbound *Prome-*
 ' *theus*, nor convers'd with the Sophisters, that were
 ' with *Chiron* and *Atlas*, but being still a young Man,
 ' and a plain *Bæotian*, at first abolish'd Logic, and de-
 ' rided this Word 'Ε, but afterwards he seem'd by
 ' force to have seiz'd on the *Tripus*, and contended
 ' with [our] God [himself] for [the præminence in]
 ' this Art. for being grown up in Age, he appear'd
 ' to be the most expert both in Divination and Lo-
 ' gic.

Theon having ended [his Speech,] I think, 'twas *Eus-*
trophus the *Athenian*, who said to us; ' Do you not see,
 ' how valiantly *Theon* vindicates Logic, having in a
 ' manner got on the Lions Skin, and not suffering e-
 ' ven us, who comprehensively place all the Affairs,
 ' Nature and Principles of things both Divine and
 ' Human in Number, and make it most especially the
 ' Author and Lord of honest and estimable things, to
 ' be at quiet, but willingly to offer the First Fruits of
 ' [our] dear Mathematics to the God, since we think
 ' that this [Letter] E does of it self neither in Power,
 ' Figure, or Expression, differ from, [or exceed] the
 ' other Letters; but that it has been preferr'd as [be-
 ' ing] the Sign of that great Number, having an Influ-
 ' ence over all things call'd [the Quinary, or] *Pemptas*,
 ' from

‘ from which the Sages have expres’d the Art of
 ‘ Numbring by the Verb $\pi\epsilon\mu\alpha\zeta\epsilon\upsilon$, [signifying to ac-
 ‘ count by Fives.]

Now *Eustrophus* spake these things to us, not in jest, but because I did at that time studiously apply my self to the Mathematics, and prehaps also in every thing to honour that saying, *Nothing too much*, as having been [conversant] in the Academy. I answer’d therefore, that *Eustrophus* has excellently solv’d the Difficulty by Number. ‘ For, *said I*, since all number being distributed
 ‘ into Even and Odd, Unity is in efficacy common
 ‘ to them both, for that being added to an even Number,
 ‘ it makes it odd, and to an odd, it makes it even. Two
 ‘ constituting the Beginning of the Even, and Three of
 ‘ the Odd; [The Number of] Five, compos’d of these
 ‘ two, is deservedly honour’d, as being the first [Com-
 ‘ pound] made of the first [simple] Numbers, and is
 ‘ call’d the Marriage for the Resemblance of the Odd
 ‘ with the Female, and the Even with Male; for
 ‘ in the Divisions of the Numbers into equal Parts, the
 ‘ Even, being wholly separated, leaves a certain capa-
 ‘ cious Beginning and Space in it self, but in the Odd,
 ‘ suffering the same thing, there always remains a
 ‘ Middle, of generative Distribution, by which it is more
 ‘ fruitful than the other, and being mixt, is always
 ‘ Master, never master’d. For by the Mixture of
 ‘ both [Even and Odd] together, there is never pro-
 ‘ duc’d an Even [Number,] but always an Odd. But
 ‘ which is more, either of them added to, and com-
 ‘ pounded with, it self, shews the Difference; for no
 ‘ Even, joyn’d with another Even, ever produc’d an
 ‘ Odd, or went forth of its proper [Nature,] being
 ‘ through [its] Weakness unable to generate another,
 ‘ and imperfect. But Odd Numbers, mixt with Odd,
 ‘ do through their being every way fruitful, produce
 ‘ many Even ones. Time does not now permit us to
 ‘ see

' set down the other Powers and Differences of Num-
 ' bers. Therefore have the *Pythagoreans*, through a
 ' [certain] Resemblance, said, that Five is the Marriage
 ' first Male and [first] Female. This also is it, for
 ' which it is call'd also Nature, by the Multiplication of
 ' it self determining again into it self. For as Nature,
 ' taking a Grain of Wheat for Seed, and diffusing it, pro-
 ' duces many Forms and Species between, by which she
 ' brings her Work to an End, but at last shews again a
 ' Grain of Wheat, restoring the Beginning in the End
 ' of all ; so the rest of the Numbers, when they multi-
 ' ply themselves, terminating by the Increase in others,
 ' only those of Five and Six, multipli'd by themselves,
 ' bring back and reserve themselves. For six times six
 ' makes thirty six, and five times five makes twenty five.
 ' And again, Six does this once, and only after one
 ' manner, becoming of it self that four square Number;
 ' but this indeed befalls Five, both by Multiplication,
 ' and by Composition with it self, to which being added,
 ' it alternatively makes Ten, and this as far as all [Num-
 ' ber can extend,] this Number imitating the Be-
 ' ginning, [or first Cause,] which [governs and] ma-
 ' nages the Universe. For as that [first Cause,] preser-
 ' ving the World by it self, does reciprocally perfect it
 ' self by the World, [as] *Heraclitus* says [of Fire;]

' *Fire turns to all things, and all things to Fire.*

' As Wares are chang'd for Gold, and Gold for Wares;
 ' so the Congress of Five with it self is fram'd by
 ' Nature to produce nothing imperfect or strange; but
 ' has limited Changes; for it either generates it self,
 ' or Ten, that is, either [what is] proper [to it,] or
 ' [what is] perfect.

' Now if any one shall say, what is all this to *Apollo*?
 ' We will answer, [That it concerns] not [*Apollo*] on-
 ' ly, but *Dionysus* [or *Bacchus*] also, who has no less to
 ' do

do with *Delphi* than *Apollo* himself. For we have heard the Divines, partly in Verse, partly in Prose, saying and singing, that the God, being of his own Nature incorruptible and eternal, yet though a certain fatal Decree and Reason, using Changes of himself, is sometimes by Nature kindled into a Fire, making all things alike, and other whiles becoming various, in different Shapes, Passions and Powers, as the World now is, he is nam'd by the most known of Names. But the Wiser, concealing from the Vulgar the Change into Fire, call him both *Apollo*, from his Uniting, and *Phæbus* from his Purity and Unpollutedness. But [as for] the Passion and Change of his Conversion into Winds, Water, Earth, Stars and the [various] Kinds of Plants and Animals, and of its [Order and] Disposition, [this] they obscurely propose as a certain Distraction, and [in these respects] call him *Dionysus* [or *Bacchus*] *Zagreus*, *Nyctelius*, and *Isodates*, exhibiting and chanting forth certain Corruptions, Disparitions, Deaths and Regenerations, [which are all Riddles,] and [ænigmatical] Fables, fit for [the vailing and mysteriously representing of] the said Mutations; to the one indeed [that is, *Dionysus*, or *Bacchus* singing] *Dithyrambic* Verses, full of Passions and Change, joyn'd with a certain Wandring and Agitation backwards and forwards; for, as *Æschilus* says,

The Dithyramb, whose Sounds are dissonant,
'Tis fit, should wait on Bacchus—

But to the other, [that is, to *Apollo*,] they sing the well ordered *Pæan*, and a discreet Song. And this [last indeed] they do both in their Sculptures, and Statues, always make to be young, and never declining to old Age; but that [former] they represent in many Shapes and Forms. Lastly to the one they attribute

‘bute Equality, Order and unmixt Gravity; but
 ‘to the other a certain Mixture of Sports, Petulan-
 ‘cy, Gravity, Madness and Inequality; furnaming
 ‘him

‘Evius Bacchus, *who to Rage incites*

‘*Women on Tops of Mountains, and delights*

‘*In frantic Worship.* — — —

‘[By which] they not unfitly touch the Property of
 ‘both Changes. Now because the Time of the Re-
 ‘volutions in these Changes is not equal, but that of
 ‘the one, which they call *Coros*, [that is, Satiety,] lon-
 ‘ger, and that of the other [nam’d] *Chresmosyne*, [or
 ‘Want,] shorter; observing in this the Proportion,
 ‘they all the rest of the Year use in their Sacrifices the
 ‘*Paon*; but at the beginning of Winter, rousing up
 ‘the *Dithyramb*, and laying the *Paan* to rest, they do
 ‘for three Months invoke this God instead of the o-
 ‘ther, esteeming the Restauration of the World to be
 ‘the same in [proportion of] time to the Conflagration
 ‘of it, as Three is to One.

‘But these things have [perhaps] had more than suf-
 ‘ficient Time spent on them. This however is evident,
 ‘that they properly attribute to this God the Number of
 ‘Five, saying, that it sometimes of it self produces it
 ‘self like Fire and other whiles the Number of Ten,
 ‘like the World. But do we think, that this Number
 ‘is not also concern’d with Music, which is [of all
 ‘things] most acceptable to this God? for the chiefest
 ‘Operation of Harmony is, as one may say, about
 ‘Symphonies [or Accords.] Now that these are five,
 ‘and no more, Reason convinces [even] him, who will
 ‘by his Sense [of Hearing only] without reasoning,
 ‘make Trial either on Strings or Pipe holes. For all
 ‘[these Accords] take their Original in Propositions from
 ‘Number; and the Proportion of [the Symphony]

‘*Dia-*

Diatefferon is sesquitercial, of *Diapente* sesquialter, of
Diapason duple, of *Diapason* with *Diapente* triple, and
of *Disdiapason* quadruple. But as for that, which
transcending all Measures, the Musicians add to these,
naming it *Diapason* with *Diateffaron*, 'tis not fit, we
should receive it, gratifying the unreasonable Pleasure
of the Ear against Proportion, which is as the Law.
That I may therefore let pass the five Positions of the
Tetrachords, and also the five first, whether they are
to be called *Tones*, *Trope* or *Harmonies*, as which
change by rising or falling either to more or less, the
rest are *Basses* or *Trebles*? Whereas there are many,
or rather infinite Intervals, are not five of them only
used in Music? [to wit,] *Diesis*, *Hemitonion*, *Tonos*,
Trimemitonion, and *Ditonon*. Nor is there any other
Space, either greater, or less in the Voice, that, be-
ing distinguished by *Base* or *Treble*, comes into Melo-
dy: Passing by many other such like things, said I,
I will only produce *Plato*, saying, that there is but
one World, but that if this were not alone, so that
there were others besides it, they would be in all five,
and no more. For indeed though there is but this
one only World, as *Aristotle* is also of Opinion, yet
this World is in some sort composed and assembled of
five [others] of which one indeed is of Earth, ano-
ther of Water, the third of Fire, the fourth of Air,
and the fifth, being Heaven, some call Light, and o-
thers the Sky; and some also name this same the fifth
Essence, to which alone of [all] Bodies 'tis natural to
be carry'd about in a Circle, not of Necessity or o-
therwise by Accident. Wherefore knowing, that of
the Figures which are in Nature, there are five most
excellent and perfect, [to wit,] the *Pyramis*, the *Cube*,
the *Octaedron*; the *Eicosaedron*, and *Dodecaedron* he has
fitly accomodated each [of them] to each [of these
Worlds or Bodies.] There are some also, who apply

' the Faculties of the Senses, being equal in Number,
 ' to these five first Bodies, seeing the Touch to be firm
 ' and earthy, and the Taste to perceive the Qualities of
 ' Savours by Moisture. Now the Air, being struck upon
 ' in the Hearing, is a Voice and Sound; and as for the
 ' other two, the Scent, which the Smell has obtain'd
 ' [for its Object.] being an Exhalation, and engen-
 ' dered by Heat, is fiery; and for the Sight, which
 ' shines by reason of its Affinity to the Sky and Light,
 ' it has from both of them a Temperature and Com-
 ' plexion equally affected. Now neither has any
 ' Animal any other Sense, or the World any other
 ' Nature simple and unmixt; but there has been made,
 ' as appears, a certain wonderful Distribution and Con-
 ' gruity of five to five.

Having here stopt a little and made a small Pause be-
 tween, I said, ' What a Fault, O *Eustrophus*, were we
 ' like to have committed! having almost past by *Homer*,
 ' as if he were not the first, that distributed the World
 ' into five Parts, who assign'd the three, which are
 ' in the midst, to three Gods, and left the two Ex-
 ' tremes, *Olympus* and the Earth, of which one is the
 ' Limit of things above, the other of things below,
 ' common and undistributed. But we must, as *Euripi-*
 ' des says, return to our Discourse. For those, who
 ' magnific the Quaternary or Number of Four, teach
 ' not amiss, that every [solid] Body had its, Generati-
 ' on by reason of this. For since every Solid consists
 ' in Length and Breadth, having also receiv'd Depth,
 ' and since before Length there is extant a Point, an-
 ' swerable to Unity, and Length without Breadth be-
 ' ing call'd a Line, and consisting of two, and the Mo-
 ' tion of a Line towards Breadth exhibiting also the
 ' Procreation of a Superficies, compos'd of three, and
 ' the Argumentation of this Depth, added to it, going
 ' on to a Solid; 'tis manifest to every one, that the Qua-
 ' ternary

ternary, having carry'd on Nature hitherto, and even to the perfecting of a Body, and the exhibiting it double, massy and solid, has at last left it, wanting the greatest [Accomplishment.] For that which is inanimate, is to speak sincerely, Orphan-like, unperfect, and fit for nothing at all, unless there is some Soul to use it; but the Motion or Disposition, introducing a Soul, being a Change, made by [the Number] five, adds the Consummation to Nature, and has a Reason so much more excellent than the Quaternary, as an Animal differs in Dignity from that, which is inanimate. Moreover the Symmetry and Power of [this Number] Five, having obtain'd greater Force, has not permitted the animate Body to proceed to infinite sorts, but has exhibited five Species of all things that have Life; For there are Gods, *Genii* and Heroes, and then after them the fourth sort is Men, and the fifth and last the irrational and brutish Animal. Furthermore, if you divide the Soul it self according to [its] Nature, its first and most obscure [Part or Faculty] is the Vegerative, the second the Sensitive, then the Concupiscible, after that the Irascible, and having brought on and perfected Nature in the Faculty of the Rational, it rests in this fifth, as in the Top [of all.] Now the Generation of this Number, which has so many and so great Faculties, is also beautiful, not that, which we have already discours'd of, being compos'd of two and three, but that, which the [first Principle, joyn'd with the first Square has exhibited.] For the Principle of all Number is Unity, and the first Square is the Quaternary; Now the Quinary is compos'd of these, as of Form and Matter, having [attain'd to] Perfection. And if 'tis right, which some hold, that Unity is also square, as being the power of it self, and terminating in it self, the Quinary, being made of the two first Squares, could not have a noble Original. M m 2 , But

‘ But [as for its] greatest Excellency, I fear, lest being spoken, it should preflour *Plato* [as much,] as he himself said, *Anaxagoras* was by the Name of the Moon, who made a certain Opinion concerning her Illuminations, which was very ancient, [to be an Invention of] his own. For has he not said this in [his Dialogue, entitled] *Cratylus* ?

‘ ‘ Yes indeed, answer'd *Eustrophus* ; but I see not any thing that has fallen out like it. And yet you know, that in [his Treatise, which has for its Title] *The Sophister*, he demonstrates five principal Beginnings [to wit] *Ens* [or, *that which is*,] *The Same*, *Another*, [adding] to these for a fourth and fifth *Motion* and *Rest*. Again, in [his Dialogue, call'd] *Philebus*, using another manner of Division, he says, that there is one thing infinite, and another the Extremity, [or End ;] and that all Generation consists of these [two] mixt [together.] Then he puts the Cause, by which they are mixt, for the fourth Kind ; and has left us to conjecture the fifth, by which the things that were mixt, have again a Division and Dissipation. Now I am [altogether] of Opinion, that these [last] are deliver'd as the Images [or Representations] of those [before, to wit,] *The things engendred* of *Ens* [or, *That which is*] *Infinite* of *Motion*, and the *Extremity* of *Rest* ; the *Mixing Principle* of *The same*, and the *Separating* of *The other*. But if these are different [from those,] yet both that way and this way [these Principles are still distinguish'd] in five Kinds and Differences. Now some one, said he, being perswaded of these things, [and] seeing them before *Plato*, consecrated to the God two E E, for a Mark and Symbol of the Number of all things. And having perhaps further understood, that Good also appears in five Kinds, of which the first is *Mean* [or *Mesur'd*,] the second *Commensurate* [or *Proportion'd*,] the third *Understanding*, the fourth *Sci-*
ces,

'ces, Arts and true Opinions in the Soul, and the fifth, a
'certain Pleasure, pure and unmixt with Sorrow; he
'stops there, subjoyning that of Orpheus:

'In the sixth Age stay your Desire of Singing.

After he had spoken these things to us, he said,
'Yet one short [Word] to those about *Nicander*,

'I'll sing to Men of Skill.——

'For on the sixth Day of the New Moon, when he
'introduces [the Prophetess] *Pithia* into the [Hall,
'call'd] *Prytaneum*, the first of the three Lots tends
'with you towards five, casting neither three, nor two,
'one to another. For is not this so?

'It is so, said *Nicander*; but the Cause is not to be
'told to others.

'Well then, said I smiling, till such time as the
'God admits us, being consecrated to know the
'Truth, this also shall be added to those things,
'that have been spoken concerning the Quinary.
This End, as I remember, had the Discourse of the
Arithmetical and Mathematical Encomiums of *E*. But
Ammonius, who had himself also bestow'd not the worst
[part of his Time] in Mathematical Philosophy, was de-
lighted with what has been spoken, and said; 'Tis
'not meet too eagerly to oppose these young Men a-
'bout these things, except [it be by saying,] that every
'one of the Numbers will afford you, if you desire to
'praise it, no small [Subject of Commendations.] And
'what need is there to speak of others? For the Septe-
'nary, sacred to *Apollo*, will take up a Days time, before
'one can in Words run through all its Powers. We
'shall therefore pronounce, that the wise Men [or Sa-
'ges] do at once contest both against common Law,
'and a long [Series of] Time, if throwing the Septe-

' nary out of its Seat, they shall consecrate the Quina-
 ' ry to the God, as being more suitable to him. I am
 ' therefore of Opinion, that this Syllable signifies nei-
 ' ther Number, Order, nor Connexion, nor any other
 ' of the deficient Parts, but is a self-perfect Appellation
 ' and Salutation of the God, which together with [the
 ' Pronunciation of] the Word, brings the Speaker to
 ' the Conception of his Power. For the God in a
 ' manner calls upon every one of us, who comes hither,
 ' with this Salutation, *Know thy self*; which is nothing
 ' inferior to [that other Expression] *All hail*. And we
 ' again, answering the God, say to him Εἶ, *thou art*;
 ' attributing to him the true, unfeign'd and Sole Appel-
 ' lation of Being, [as] agreeing to him alone.

' For we indeed do not at all essentially partake of
 ' Being, but every mortal Nature, being in the midst
 ' between Generation and Corruption, exhibits an Ap-
 ' pearance, and obscure and weak Opinion of it self;
 ' and if you fix your Thought, desiring to comprehend
 ' it, as the hard Grasping of Water, by the pressing
 ' and squeezing together, that which is fluid, loses that,
 ' which is held; so the Passions changing, Reason pur-
 ' suing too evident a Perception of every thing, is de-
 ' ceiv'd, partly as to its Generation, and partly to its
 ' Corruption, being able to apprehend Nothing, either
 ' remaining or really subsisting. For we cannot, as
 ' *Heraclitus* says, descend twice into the same River or
 ' twice find any perishable Substance in the same State;
 ' but by the Suddenness and Swiftmess of the Change it
 ' disperses and again gathers together, comes and goes;
 ' whence what is generated of it, reaches not to the
 ' Perfection of Being, because the Generation never
 ' ceases, nor is it at an End; but always changing, of
 ' Seed it makes an Embryo, next an Infant, then a
 ' Child, then a Stripling, after that a young Man,
 ' then a full-grown Man, an elderly Man, [and lastly,]

‘ a decrepit old Man, corrupting the [precedent or]
 ‘ former Generations and Statures by the subsequent
 ‘ [or later.] But we ridiculously fear one Death, ha-
 ‘ ving already so often dy’d, and dying. For not only,
 ‘ as *Heraclitus* said is the Death of Fire the Generation
 ‘ of Air, and the Death of Air the Generation of Wa-
 ‘ ter; but you may see this more plainly in Men them-
 ‘ selves; for the full-grown Man perishes, when the
 ‘ old Man comes, as the Youth terminated in the
 ‘ full-grown Man, the Child in the Youth, the Infant
 ‘ in the Child; so Yesterday dy’d in To day, and To
 ‘ day dies in To morrow; so that none remains, nor is
 ‘ one, but we are generated many about one Phantasm,
 ‘ and common Mould, the Matter sliding and turning
 ‘ about. For how do we, if remaining the same, de-
 ‘ light in other things, [then we delighted in before?]
 ‘ How do we love, hate, admire and condemn things,
 ‘ contrary to the former? How do we use other
 ‘ Words, and other Passions, nor having the same
 ‘ Form, Figure or Understanding? For neither is it
 ‘ probable, we should be thus differently afflicted with-
 ‘ out Change, neither is he, who changes the same.
 ‘ And if he is not the same, neither is he at all, but
 ‘ changing from the same, changes also his Being, be-
 ‘ ing made one from another. But the Sense is deceiv’d
 ‘ through the Ignorance of Being, supposing that to be,
 ‘ which appears.

‘ What then is it that has really a Being? That
 ‘ which is eternal, unbegotten and incorruptible, to which
 ‘ no Time brings a Change. For time is a certain
 ‘ moveable thing, appearing as a Shadow with fleeting
 ‘ Matter, always flowing and unstable, like a Vessel of
 ‘ Corruption and Generation; of which the saying,
 ‘ *After*, and *Before*, *It has been*, and *It shall be*, is of it
 ‘ self a Confession, that it has no Being. For to say,
 ‘ that what ever was, or what has already ceas’d to

' be, is in being, how foolish and absurd it is. And
 ' as for that, on which we chiefly ground the Under-
 ' standing of Time, saying, the *Instant, Present* and
 ' *Now*, Reason again, wholly discovering it, does imme-
 ' diately overthrow it ; for it is press'd between the Fu-
 ' ture and the Past, as desiring to see it necessarily se-
 ' parated into two.

' Now if the same thing befalls Nature, which we
 ' measure by Time, as does the Measure of it, there
 ' is nothing in it permanent or subsistent, but all things
 ' are either breeding or dying, according to their Com-
 ' mixture with Time. Whence also it is not lawful to
 ' say of any thing, which is, that it was, or shall be ; for
 ' these are Inclinations and Departures and Changes
 ' of that, whose Nature is not to continue in Being. But
 ' GOD, we must say, IS, and he is not according to
 ' any Time, but according to Eternity, which is im-
 ' moveable without Time, and free from Inclination,
 ' in which there is nothing first, or last, or newer ; but
 ' being one, it has fill'd its eternal Duration with one
 ' [only] *Now*, and that only is, which is really accord-
 ' ing to this, [of which it cannot be said, that it] either
 ' was, or shall be, or that it begins, or shall end. Thus
 ' ought those, who worship, to salute and invoke this
 ' eternal Being, or else indeed, as some of the Ancients
 ' [have done, with this Expression] *Li "Ev Thou art*
 ' *one*. For the Divinity is not many, as [is] every
 ' one of us, who are made of ten thousand Differences
 ' in Affections, being a confus'd Heap, fill'd with all
 ' Diversities, and a Mixture of all sorts of Alterations.
 ' But that, which is, must be one, as One must have a
 ' Being. But Diversity, [which is esteem'd] the Dif-
 ' ference of Being, goes forth to the Generation of
 ' that which is not. Whence both the first of his
 ' Names agrees rightly with this God, as do also the
 ' second and third. For he is call'd *Apollo*, as denving
 , Plu-

' Plurality, and rejecting Multitude ; and *Ieios*, as be-
 ' ing only one ; and *Phæbus* was the Name given by
 ' the Ancients to every thing, that is pure and chaste ; as
 ' the *Theſſalians* even to this day, If I am not mistaken,
 ' say of their Priests, when on vacant days they [ab-
 ' stain from the Temples, and] keep themselves retir'd,
 ' that they do *Phæbonomize*, that is, purifie themselves.
 ' Now that which is one, is sincere and pure : For Pol-
 ' lution is by the Mixture of one thing with another ;
 ' as *Homer*, speaking of a piece of Ivory dy'd red, said,
 ' it was polluted by the Dye, and *Diers* say of mixt
 ' Colours, that they are *corrupted*, and call the Mixture
 ' it self *Corruption*. 'Tis therefore always requisite for
 ' that, which is incorruptible and pure, to be one and
 ' unmixt. Now as for those who think *Apollo* and the
 ' Sun to be the same, they are to be carels'd and lov'd
 ' for their Ingenuity [as] placing the Notion of God
 ' in that, which they most reverence of all things, that
 ' they know and desire.

' And now, as if we were dreaming of God the most
 ' glorious Dream [imaginable,] let us stir up and exhort
 ' our selves to ascend higher, and to contemplate what
 ' is above us, and [principally to adore his] Essence ;
 ' but to honour also this his Image, [the Sun,] and to
 ' venerate that Generative [Faculty, he has plac'd] in
 ' it, exhibiting in some sort by its Brightness, as far as
 ' 'tis possible for a sensible thing [to represent] an In-
 ' tellectual and a moveable thing, that, which is per-
 ' manent, certain Manifestations and Resemblances of
 ' his Benignity and Blessedness. But as for those his
 ' Sallyings out and Changes, when he casts forth Fire,
 ' which, as they say, at the same time distract him, and
 ' when he again draws himself in, afterwards extend-
 ' ing himself into the Earth, Sea, Winds, Animals and
 ' strange Accidents both of Animals and Plants, they
 ' cannot so much as be hearkned to without Impiety, or
 ' else

538 Of *Eĩ*, at Apollo's Temple in Delphi. Vol. IV.

‘ else the God will be worse than the Child in the Poet,
‘ who made himself Sport with an Heap of Sand, first
‘ rais’d, and then again scatter’d abroad by himself, if
‘ he shall do the same in respect of the Universe, first
‘ framing the World, when it was not, and then de-
‘ stroying it, when made. On the contrary, whatsoever
‘ of him is in any sort infus’d into the World, that
‘ binds together its Substance, and restrains the Corpo-
‘ real Weakness, which tends to Corruption. And this
‘ World seems to me to have been chiefly oppos’d to
‘ that Doctrin, and that *Eĩ*, [or *Thou art*] is spoken to
‘ this God, as testifying, that there is never in him any
‘ going forth or Charge. But to do and suffer this, a-
‘ grees to a certain other Good, or rather *Damon*, or-
‘ dain’d [to take care] about Nature in Generation and
‘ Corruption, as is immediately manifest from their
‘ Names, being wholly contrary, and of different Sig-
‘ nifications. For the one is call’d *Apollo*, [or *Not many*,]
‘ the other *Pluto*, [or *Many*;] the one *Delius* [from
‘ Clearness,] the other *Aidoneus* [from Obscurity;] the
‘ one *Phœbus*, [or Shining,] the other *Scotius*, [or
‘ Dark;] with the one are the *Muses* and *Mnemosyne*,
‘ [or *Songs* and *Memory*,] with the other *Lethe* and *Sio-
‘ pe*, [or *Forgetfulness* and *Silence*:] The one is [from
‘ Contemplating and Shewing,] nam’d *Theorius* and
‘ *Phœneus*, the other is

‘ *Prince of dark Night, and sluggish Sleep, whose Fate*
‘ *Is, that Men him most of all Gods do hate.*

‘ Of whom also *Pindarus* not unpleasantly sung,

‘ *He is condemn’d to be for ever Childless.*

‘ And therefore *Euripides* rightly also said;

‘ *These mournful Songs suit well with Men deceas’d,*
‘ *With which gold-hair’d Apollo’s no way pleas’d.*

‘ And

‘ And before him *Stesichorus* :

‘ *Apollo joys in Sports and pleasant Tones ;*

‘ *But Pluto takes delight in Griefs and Moans.*

‘ *Sophocles* also evidently attributes to either of them
‘ his proper Instruments, in these Words :

‘ *Neither the Lute nor Psaltery is fit*

‘ *For mournful Matters —*

‘ For ’tis but very lately, and in a manner of yester-
‘ day, that the Pipe of Hautbois had dar’d to introduce
‘ it self into delightful Matters ; having in former times
‘ drawn Men to Mourning, and possessing about these
‘ things no very honorable or splendid Employment,
‘ though it was afterwards wholly intermixt. But those
‘ especially, who confounded the Affairs of the Gods
‘ with those of the *Genii*, brought them into Reputa-
‘ tion.

‘ But the Sentence, *Know thy self*, seems in one re-
‘ spect to contradict this Note Eĩ, and in another to
‘ agree with it. For the one is pronounc’d with Ad-
‘ miration and Veneration to God, as being eternally,
‘ and the other is a Remembrance to mortal Men of
‘ their Nature and Infirmary.

Plutarch’s

Plutarch's Morals :

Vol. IV.

*Whether Vice is sufficient to render a
Man unhappy.*

*Translated out of the Greek by
Sam. White, M. D.*

THO' this Tract is so defective both in the Beginning and end, that they cannot even to this present be so much as guess'd at ; yet the Title and Fragment, we have left, sufficiently discover the Authors Intention. Now as the Ruins of an old Regal Palace our Imagination does in some sort represent to us, how beautiful it was, whilst it stood entire: so this little Remnant suffices to shew the greatness of our Loss. But though the Injury of time has depriv'd us of this Benefit, and many others of like Nature ; yet this Remainder, as unperfect as it is, may be profitable to us, and serve to put us in mind of our Duty. Our Author, having in the Beginning describ'd the Misery of a covetous Person, and of a Courtier, adds in prosecution of his principal Design, that
Vice

Vice is the absolute Effector of Infelicity, having need of no Instruments or Servants, to render a Man miserable; whence he collects, that there is no Danger or Calamity, which we ought not rather to choose, than to be vicious, He afterwards answers the Objections made to the contrary, and concludes, that no Adversity can prejudice us, if it be not accompany'd with Vice.

The Beginning is lost.

HE suffers much, who for a Dowry has
His Body sold, —

I. The Misery of the Covetous.

As *Euripides* says, for he gets but small Matters by it, and those very uncertain. But to him, who passes not through much Ashes, but through a certain regal Pile of Fire, being perpetually short-breath'd, full of Fear, and bath'd in Sweat by his crossing the Seas too and fro, she gives at last a certain *Tantalian* Wealth, which he cannot enjoy by reason of the continual Turmoil, that encumbers him. For that *Sicyonian* Horse-courser was well advis'd, who presented the a King of the *Achai-*ans with a swift-footed Mare,

a *Agamemnon*.

That to proud *Iliums* Siege he might not go,

But stay at Home, and take his Pleasure, wallowing in the Depth of his Riches, and giving himself up to an unmolested Ease.

But those, who now seem to be without Trouble, and Men of Action, do, without being call'd to it, thrust themselves headlong into

II. The Misery of Courtiers.

into the Courts of Princes, where they must be oblig'd to tedious attending and watching, that they may gain an Horse, a Chain, or some such blessed Favor.

*In the mean time the Wife, of Joy bereft,
Sits tearing her fair Cheeks, the House is left
Imperfect, and half built —*

Whilst the Husband is drawn and hurry'd about, wandring amongst others, allur'd by Hopes, of which he is often disappointed, suffering Disgrace and Shame. But if he happens to obtain any of those things, he so eagerly desires, after he has been turn'd about, and made dizzy with being Fortunes sport, he seeks a Dismission, and declares those to be happy, who live obscure and safe; whilst they in the mean time have the same Opinion of him, whom they see mounted so far above them.

III. *Vice is
the most de-
testable Ty-
rant in the
World.*

So absolutely does Vice dispose of all Men, being such a self sufficient Worker of Infelicity, that it has no need either of Instruments or Servants. Other Tyrants, endeavouring to render those Men miserable, whom they punish, maintain Executioners and Tormentors, devise Searing-Irons and Racks, to plague the reasonless Soul. But Vice without any Preparation of Engines, as soon as it enters into the Soul, torments and dejects it, filling a Man with Grief, Lamentations, Sorrow and Repentance. For a Sign, that this is so, you may observe, that many, being cut, are silent, being scourg'd, take it patiently, and being rackt and tormented by their Lords and Tyrants, send not forth the least Shreek, since the

the Soul, repressing the Voice by Reason, restrains and keeps it in as with the Hand ; but you will scarce ever be able to quiet Anger, or to silence Sorrow, nor can you persuade one, that is in a Fright, to stand still, or one, that is stung with Remorse of Conscience, to forbear exclaiming, tearing his Hair, and smiting his Thigh : So much is Vice more violent than either Fire or Sword.

Cities, when by fixing up of Writings they publish their Intention of building Temples, or erecting * *Colossuses*, hear the Proposals of different Artists, contending about the Undertaking of the Work, and bringing in their Accounts and Models ; after which they choose him, who will perform it best, quickest and with the least Expence. Now imagin, that we also set forth a Proclamation of a Purpose, to make a wretched Man, or a miserable Life, and that Fortune and Vice come with differing Proposals to offer their Service for the Performance of this Design. The one (to wit, Fortune,) is provided with abundance of various Instruments, and costly Furniture for to render human Life miserable and unhappy : She draws after her Robberies, Wars, the Murders of Tyrants, Storms from the Sea, and Lightnings from the Air ; She mixes Poisons, brings in Swords, hires Slanders, kindles Feavers, jingles Shackles, and builds up Prisons round about ; although most of these things are rather from Vice than Fortune. But let us suppose them to be all from Fortune ; and let Vice, standing naked, and wanting no exterior thing against Man, ask Fortune, how she will make a Man unhappy and heartless.

* For-

IV. That there is no Danger or Calamity, which a Man ought not rather to choose, than to let himself be a Slave to Vice.

* Statues or Monuments of an excessive height and bigness.

a Examples of such, as have despis'd all Calamities, and even Death itself, rather than they would act against their Duty.

a Fortune, let her say, dost thou threaten Poverty? *Metrocles* laughs at thee, who sleeping in the Winter amongst the Sheep, and in the Summer in the Porches of the Temples, challeng'd the King of the Persians, that winter'd in Babylon, and pass'd the Summer in Media, to vye with him for Happiness. Dost thou bring on Servitude, Bonds, and the being sold for a Slave? *Diogenes* contemns thee, who being expos'd to sale by Pirates, cry'd out, Who will buy a Maller? Dost thou brew a Cup of Poison? Didst thou not offer such an one to *Socrates*? And yet he mildly and meekly, without trembling, or changing either Colour or Countenance, drank it briskly up; whilst those, who surviv'd, esteem'd him happy, as one, that would not be even in the other World without a Divine Portion. Moreover, as for thy Fire, *Decius* the Roman General prevented it, when having caus'd a great Fire to be made in the midst between two Armies, he sacrific'd himself to Saturn according to a Vow, made for the aggrandizing of the Romans Dominion. And amongst the Indians such chaste Wives, as are true Lovers of their Husbands, strive and contend with one another for the Fire, and all the rest sing forth the Happiness of her, who, having obtain'd the Victory, is burnt with her deceas'd Husband. And of the Sages in those Parts there is not one esteem'd an holy and most blessed Man, if he did not, whilst he was yet living, and in the perfect Enjoyment of his Health and Understanding, separate by Fire his Soul from his Body, and purging away what was mortal, depart pure out of the Flesh.

An Answer to the Objections of such, as had rather be Slaves to Vice, than fall into any temporal Calamity; to wit, that external Miseries only hurt the Wicked.

But thou wilt reduce one from great Wealth, a stately House, a well furnish'd Table, and abun-

dance

dance of all things, to a thredbare Coat, a Wallet, and the Begging of his daily Food. These things were to Diogenes the Beginnings of Happiness, and to Crates of Liberty and Glory. But thou wilt perhaps fasten one to the Cross, or empale him on a Stake. Now what cares Theodorus, whether 'tis above or under Ground, that he putrifies? These were the happy Sepultures of the Scythians; and amongst the Hircanian Dogs, amongst the Bactrians Birds, did according to the Laws, devour the dead Bodies of those, who made a blessed End. Whom then do these things render unhappy? The unmanly and irrational, the ill educated and unexercis'd, with such, as retain the foolish and frightful Opinions, they receiv'd in their Infancy.

Fortune then does not perfectly produce VI. *That*
 Infelicity, unless it has Vice to co-operate with *Adversity*
 it. For as a Thread will cut in sunder a Bone, *is not pre-*
 that has been steep'd in Ashes and Vinegar, *judicial,*
 and as Workmen bend and fashion Ivory, as *unless ac-*
 they please, after it has been softned and ren- *company'd*
 der'd pliable by Beer, when it is otherwise in- *by Vice:*
 flexible; so Fortune coming upon that, which *Illustrated*
 is already ill affected of it self, and render'd *by several*
 soft by Vice, pierces into it and hollows it. *Simili-*
tudes.

And as the * *Paræcus*, tho' hurtful to no other, * *VWhat*
 nor any way prejudicing those, who touch it, *this word*
 or bear it about them, if any one, who is *Πάεινος*
should in
this place

signify, I must with *Xylinder*, who leaves it, as I have done, un-
 translated, profess my self wholly at a Loss. The old Translator,
 who, as he says, renders it by *Externum alieno catui se admiscentem*,
 gives me no satisfaction: *Amyor* in French, and *Holland* in English,
 put in its stead *Pharicum*, a Poyson mentioned by *Dioscorides*, in
 his Sixth Book *De Alexipharmicis*; but this Reading is overthrown
 by the Adjectives joyn'd with it, which are all Masculine.

wounded, is but brought into the Place, where it is, immediately kills him, being already by his Wound pre-dispos'd to receive the Defluxion; so the Soul, which is to be overthrown by Fortune, must have in it self some Ulcer of its own, and some Malady within its Flesh, that it may render those Accidents, which come from abroad, miserable and lamentable. Is then Vice also such, that it should stand in need of Fortunes help for the working of Infelicity? Whence then does the Sea swell with Storms and Tempests? She besets not the Desarts, lying at the Feet of the Mountains, with Robbers, she pours not down Storms of Hail on the fruitful Fields, she raises not up *Militus*, *Anytus* and *Callixenus*, to be Calumniators, she takes not away Wealth, she hinders not any from the Command of Armies, that she may make them unhappy; but she renders them rich, abounding in Wealth, having great Inheritances on the Earth, she bears them Company at Sea, she sticks close to them, pining them with Lusts, inflaming them with Wrath, overwhelming them with Superstitions, drawing them by their Eyes.

The rest is wanting.

Plu-

Plutarch's Morals:

Vol. IV.

*Whether the Passions of the Soul, or
[Diseases] of the Body are worse.*

*Translated out of the Greek by the
same Hand.*

Homer, having contemplated the various Kinds of mortal Animals, and compar'd them one with another, in respect to their Lives, and the Entertainments of them, cry'd out :

*I. Man the
most miserable of all
Animals,
and what
are his most
dangerous
Maladies.*

** Of all, that breath, or creep on Earth, there can
No Creature be more wretched found than Man: *Iliad. l. 17.*

Attributing to Man that unhappy Primacy of having the Superiority in Miseries. But we, [considering] Man, as having already gain'd the Victory for Infelicity, and being publicly declar'd the most miserable of all Animals, will compare him with himself in a Contention about his own Calamities, not unprofitably, but even altogether necessarily dividing his Soul from his Body ; that we may thence learn, whether we live more miserably in regard of our Souls, or of our Selves, [that

* For
Καὶ ἄφου-
τον, I
read τὸ
ἄφουτον.

II. The
Maladies
of the Soul
are more
dangerous
than those
of the Body.

1. They
are more
numerous,
and very
various.

2. They
do not
make
known
and disco-
ver them-
selves, as
those of
the Body.

is, our Bodies.] For Sickneſs is indeed engendered in the Body by Nature; but Vice and Malice in the Soul is firſt its Work; afterward its Paſſion. Now 'tis of no ſmall Advantage towards Content of Mind, if that, which is the worſe, is curable, and that lighter * which is unavoidable.

The Fox in *Æſop*, diſputing with the Panther for [the Superiority in beautiful] Variety, when this [latter] had ſhewn his Body, and its Superſicies, curiouſly ſtain'd and ſpotted, whereas the Foxes tawny Skin was ill favour'd and unpleaſant to the Sight, ſaid thus: *But if you, Sir Judge, will look within me, you will find me much fuller of Variety than this Leopard*; manifeſting the nimble Subtilty of his natural Diſpoſition, frequently changing, as occaſions require. Let us then ſay alſo to our ſelves: *Thy Body, O Man, naturally of it ſelf breeds many Diſeaſes and Paſſions, and [many] it receives, befalling it from without; but if thou ſhalt open thy interior, thou wilt find a certain various and abundantly furniſht Store-Houſe; and, as Democritus ſays, Treasury of Evils, not flowing into it from abroad, but having, as it were, their inbred and original Springs, which Vice, exceedingly affluent, and rich in Paſſions, cauſes to break forth.* Now whereas the Diſeaſes in the Fleſh are diſcern'd by [the Beating of] the Pulſes, and the Fluſhings in the Color [of the Skin,] and diſcover'd by [unusual] Heats, and ſudden Pains; and theſe Maladies of the Soul ly hid from many who are affected with them; theſe are therefore worſe, as removing from them the Senſe of the Patient. For the Diſcourſe of Reaſon being ſound, is ſenſible of the

the Bodies Diseases; but being it self diseas'd with those of the Soul, has no Judgment in what it suffers; for it suffers by what it judges. We ought therefore to account, that the first and greatest of the Souls Diseases, is Folly, by which Vice, being rendred incurable, cohabits, lives and dies together with many. For the beginning of the Cure is the Sense of the Disease, leading the Patient to the Use, of what is helpful; but he, who thro' his not believing himself Sick, is ignorant of his own Necessities, tho' a Remedy is presented him, refuses it. For also amongst the Diseases of the Body, those are indeed the worst, which are accompany'd with a Stupefaction of the Senses, as Lethargies, Head-aches, Epilepsies, Apoplexies, and those burning Fevers, which, carrying on the Inflammation even to the Loss of the Wits, and disturbing the Senses, as it were, in a Musical Instrument,

3. They are incurable, because that which should discover them, is most concern'd.

Move the Hearts Strings, till then untouch'd.

Wherefore the Physicians do in the first place indeed desire, that a Man should not be sick, and next, that being sick, he should not be ignorant, that he is so; which nevertheless befalls all the Diseases of the Soul. For neither those, who are mad, those, that are lascivious, nor those, who act unjustly, think, that they sin; nay, some of them [are on the contrary perswaded,] even that they do well. Never yet did any Man call a Fever Health, a Consumption a good Constitution of Body, the Gout Swift-footedness, or the Wanness of

III. An Amplification of the Miseries attending the Diseases of the Soul.
2. Those, who are so affected, have their Judgment overturned.

the

2. They
shun the
Remedy.

the Face a fresh Colour; but many [there are, who] term Anger Courage, [unchast] Love Amity, Envy Emulation, and Cowardice Cautiousness [or Discretion.] Moreover, those, [who are troubled with corporeal Sickness,] send for Physicians, for they are sensible, what they stand in need of for [the Cure of] their Diseases; but these, [who are sick in Mind,] shun Philosophers, [and such discreet Persons, whose advices tend to reclaim them:] because they think themselves to act excellently in those very things, in which they most offend. In this then making use of our Reason, we affirm, that the Blearness or Soreness of the Eyes is a less [Malady] than Madness; and the Gout in the Feet than a Phrensie [in the Brain:] for in the one a Man is sensible of his Distemper, and crying out, calls for the Physician, to whom, when he is come, he shews his Eye to be anointed, stretches out his Vein to be open'd, and gives up his Head to be cur'd; but [on the contrary] you hear *Agave*, when seiz'd with Madness, through [the Violence of her] Passion, not knowing the dearest [Pledges of her Womb, to cry out,]

* Euripides
in his Tragedy of the
Bacchantes.

* *From the Hills Top into the Plain,
Bring me this young Fawn, newly slain,
Which happily's become our Prey.*

For he, who is sick in Body, presently yielding and betaking himself to his Bed, lies there quiet, till he is cur'd; and if the Accession of some violent hot Fit makes him a little tumble and

and toss his Body, any one of those, who are by, saying to him,

Lye still at ease, poor Wretch, keep in thy Bed,

easily stays and retains him; but those [on the other side,] who are surpriz'd with the Passions of the Soul, are then most active, then least at quiet; for the Impulses of the Mind are the Beginnings [or principal Causes] of Actions, and Passions the violent Fits of [such] Impulses. Wherefore they suffer not the Soul to be at rest, but when a Man has most need of Patience, Silence and Retirement, then is he drawn forth into the Light, then is he [chiefly] discover'd by his cholerick Humors, his Eagerness in contending, his [dishonest] Loves, and his [heart-breaking] Sorrows, which force him to commit many irregular [Actions,] and speak [many Words,] unfitting for the Times.

As therefore that Storm, which hinders a Ship from entring into the Port, is more dangerous than that, which suffers it not to sail; so the Tempests of the Soul are more difficult, which permit not a Man to restrain himself, nor to settle his disturb'd Reason; so that being without Pilot or Cables, he is through Tumult and Deceit, hurry'd headlong by rash and pernicious Courses, till he falls into some terrible Shipwreck, where he casts away his Life. So that also for these Reasons 'tis worse to be sick in the Soul, than Body; for to the one it happens only to suffer, but to the other both to suffer and do amiss. And what need is there to reckon up many Passions?

IV. *The Conclusion shewing by an excellent Similitude, that the Diseases of the Soul are incomparably more dangerous than those of the Body.*

* The Bench
on which
the Judges
sate.

† The Hall,
or Place
where the
Courts of
Judicature
were kept.

ons? This very Nick of Time is a [sufficient] Remembrance. Do you see this vast and promiscuous Multitude, here crouding and thrusting each other about the * *Tribunal* and † *Forum*? They are not assembled to sacrifice to their Country Gods, nor to participate together in the same sacred Ceremonies: They are not come to offer up to *Jupiter Aescraus* the First of the *Lydian* Fruits, nor to celebrate the Solemnities of *Bacchus* by the Observance of Festival Nights and common Revellings; but the Force of the Disease, as it were by yearly Revolutions, irritating *Asia*, drives them higher to manage their Processes and Suits at Law; and a multitude of Affairs, as it were of impetuous Torrents, fall into one place, where they grow hot, and the Contests are eagerly prosecuted, both by those, that destroy, and that are destroyed. Of what Fevers? Of what Agues are these the Effects? What Instances, what Accidents, what Distemperature of Heat, what Superfusion of Humors [produces them?] Should you ask every Cause, as if it were a Man, whence it had its Original, whence it proceeded; you would find, that audacious Anger generated one, furious Obstinacy another and unjust Covetousness a third.

FINIS.

